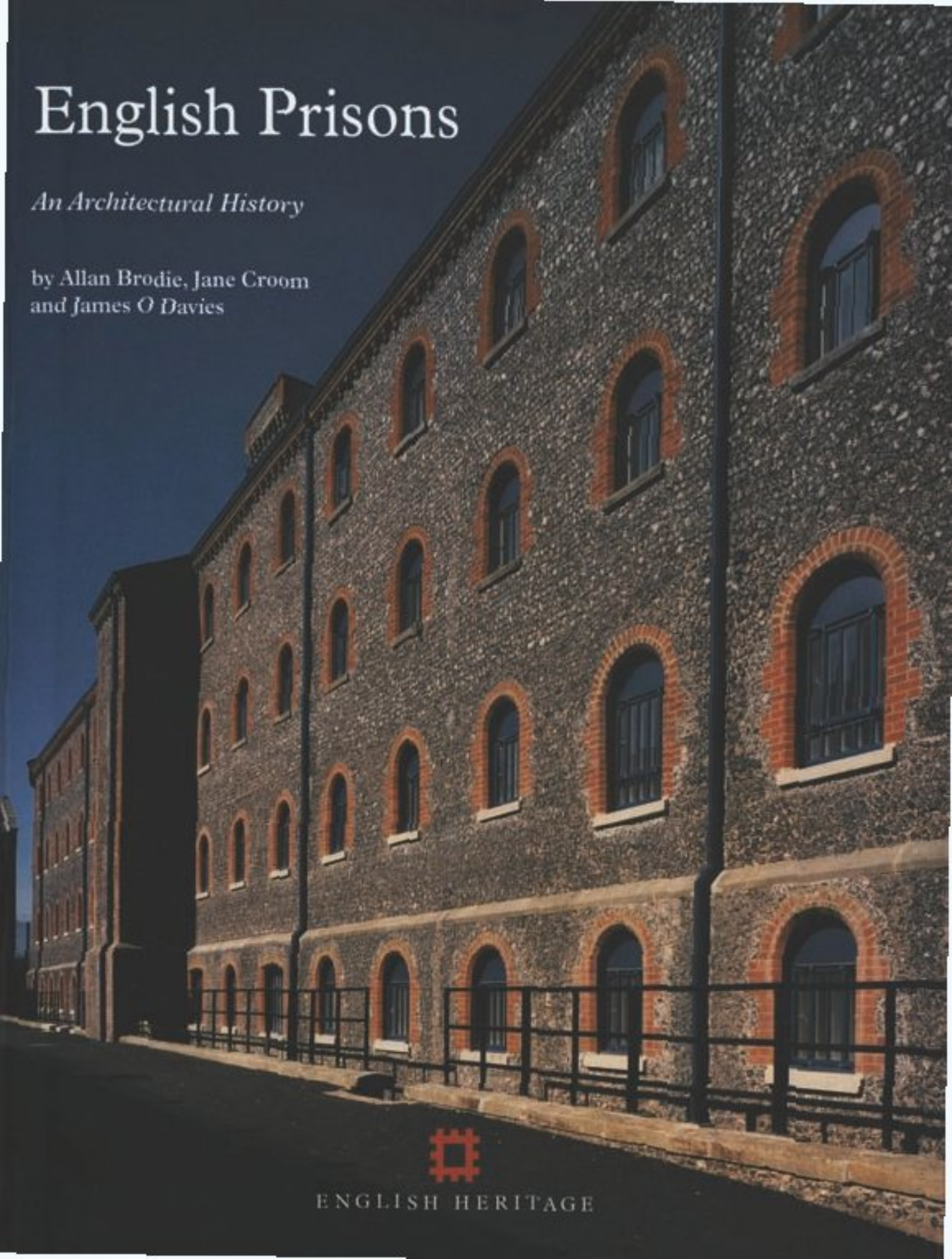
English Prisons

An Architectural History

by Allan Brodie, Jane Croom
and James O Davies



ENGLISH HERITAGE

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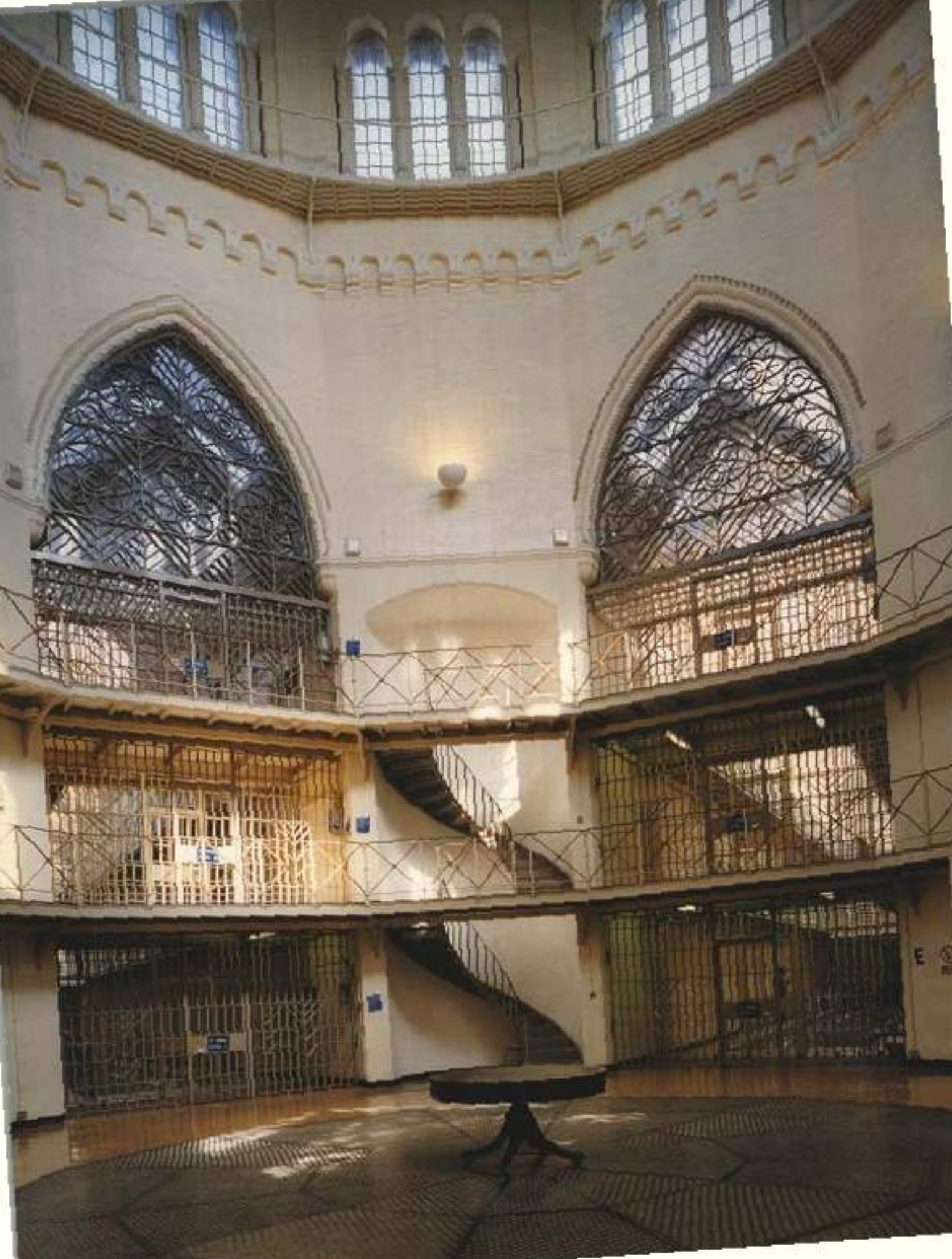

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Preface

The prisons project was carried out by staff of the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (RCHME) before its merger with English Heritage in 1999. The RCHME had been established in 1908 'to make an inventory of the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions connected with or illustrative of the contemporary culture, civilisation and conditions of life of the people of England ...'. The present survey documents the current appearance of England's prisons and illustrates how they have evolved since the 18th century.

The study evolved in the years immediately after the 1990 prison disturbances. Photographers from the RCHME's York office visited Her Majesty's Prison (HMP) Manchester (Strangeways) two weeks after the riots to document the damage to the prison and during the next four years a number of prisons were recorded in response to specific Prison Service refurbishment proposals. By 1995 it was recognised that a more concerted recording programme should be undertaken and a team of three, based in the Swindon office, began systematically to record England's prisons.

This decision was prompted by the dramatic transformation that was occurring in Victorian prisons in the aftermath of the publication in 1991 of the Woolf Report on the 1990 disturbances and by the absence of any systematic modern records of working prisons. The survey is the first-ever photographic record of every working prison – in total more than 5,000 photographs have been taken to document both the architecture and aspects of everyday life in prison. It is also the first written account of every working prison since R G Alford's *Notes on the Buildings of English Prisons*, which was published in 1909–10. He visited the sixty-one prisons open at that date, eighteen of which have since closed.

More than 250 records of past and present prisons have been created during the project. These contain the results of work carried out at the sites and research in local and national archives. At each prison the team visited every major part of the site, recording the current appearance of the buildings and identifying how they have evolved. Where staff and inmates were happy to be photographed we also took the opportunity to record the activities taking place, and a small selection of these images appears in *Behind Bars: The Hidden Architecture of England's Prisons* published by English Heritage in March 2000. In addition to site visits, the project team has consulted more than sixty archives, record offices and libraries in all parts of the country. All the records and photography created as part of this survey can be consulted in the National Monuments Record (NMR) at the National Monuments Record Centre (NMRC) in Swindon. For more information please contact NMR Enquiry and Research Services, NMRC, Great Western Village, Kemble Drive, Swindon SN2 2GZ. Telephone 01793 414600. Files for prisons in Greater London are held at the NMR in London, 55 Blandford Street, London W1H 3AF. Telephone 020 7208 8200.

The 1990s proved to be an exciting time to undertake a survey of prisons. In addition to the transformation of historic prisons, they witnessed the end of the building programme managed by the Property Services Agency (PSA), the creation of privately managed prisons and an emergency accommodation programme that has provided thousands of places since 1996. They also saw profound changes in the management of prisons. Mandatory drug testing has been one of the most important recent innovations but the imposition of volumetric testing has limited the amount of property that can be held in a cell, resulting in a dramatic change in the character of cells. Their appearance has also changed with the insertion of sanitation and because triple occupancy of single cells has ended.

Acknowledgements

This project has been made possible by the support of the Prison Service. We have been granted access to all prisons and allowed to photograph anything at any time, except where this would compromise security or infringe the rights of staff and inmates. During the project we have visited all the working prisons in England and Wales, and have been made welcome at them all. Staff and inmates have made our visits successful and have cheerfully tolerated the disruption to their lives and work. We would like to thank all those who helped us and particularly the staff who accompanied us on our visits. Two long photographic exercises were carried out at HMP Grendon/Spring Hill and HMRC and YOI Moorland, documenting aspects of the everyday life of staff and inmates. We would like to thank their Governors, Tim Newell and Dave Waplington, and everyone who helped us with these projects.

Besides working prisons we have also visited a number of former prisons that are now used as houses or have been converted into museums. We would like to thank the owners and the curators for allowing us to record these sites.

A major element of the project has been detailed original research using a variety of archives. We would like to thank all the staff of the record offices and libraries that we consulted, including those at the Prison Service Headquarters Library. A special thanks must go to the staff of the public libraries at Chippenham and Chipping Norton who kept us supplied with a constant stream of inter-library loans.

This project has been greatly supported by colleagues, particularly the library and archive staff and colleagues in the Archaeology and Survey division, who freely contributed their advice on a wide variety of matters. Tony Berry has produced the drawings for the project and Gary Winter spent a year with us providing administrative support and carrying out research. We would also like to thank the staff of the darkrooms who have printed photographs for us, including Shaun Watts who produced the prints for this book. The photographs in this book were mainly taken by James O Davies but we have also included some images taken by Steve Cole, *Derek Kendall, Tony Rumsey and Keith* Buck. Damian Grady risked the wrath of air-traffic control and RAF fighter command to produce excellent aerial photographs for the project. We owe a debt of gratitude to Ann Robey who has patiently read our manuscripts. Rachel Howard and René Rodgers have been responsible for bringing the work to publication. John Bold, Roger Bowdler, Ian Dunbar, Leslie Fairweather, Harriet Richardson and Ann Riches also read our final draft. They undertook this onerous task very quickly and provided enlightening comments that we have gratefully incorporated. The text was edited by Susan Whimster, the design was by Mark Simmons, creative digital artist, and the index was prepared by Ann Hudson.

During the project we visited prisons in Wales with Richard Suggett of the Royal Commission on the Historic and Ancient Monuments of Wales who provided useful background research and support for our visits. We also visited a number of English prisons with Roger Bowdler of English Heritage who allowed us to use the material he has compiled in connection with his work.

Our final thanks must go to two members of the Prison Service who have supported us from the outset of the project. Peter Davies, the former curator of the Prison Service Museum, provided help and advice on numerous occasions as well as assisting with the publication of our first book *Behind Bars: The Hidden Architecture of England's Prisons* (2000). John Beetles, the Conservation Officer for the Prison Service, has arranged all our visits and introduced us to people throughout the Prison Service. He also provided us with advice and help whenever we needed it. Without his help this project would not have been possible.

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Editorial Notes

Technical Terms such as 'New Wave' and 'Category C prisoner' etc are explained in the section of the book where the main discussion of the subject takes place.

Imperial measurements have been used throughout the text, with the metric equivalent given in brackets afterwards.

Where block plans of prisons have been redrawn from SIPD 1826 it has not been possible to conjecture an accurate scale bar or north point. However, block plans for current buildings include scale bar and north point.

The distribution maps (Figs 4.1 and 6.1 and in Appendix 3) have been drawn using post-1974 administrative boundaries for counties.

The *Dictionary of National Biography* has been consulted for biographical details unless otherwise stated.

Abbreviations

CNA	Certified Normal Accommodation
DCMF	Design, Construction, Management and Financing
DOW	Directorate of Works
GPO	General Post Office
HIT	High Intensity Training
HMP	Her Majesty's Prison
JP	Justice of the Peace
MP	Member of Parliament
NAO	National Audit Office
NMR	National Monuments Record
NMRC	National Monuments Record Centre
PDBS	Prison Design Briefing System
PFI	Private Finance Initiative
PSA	Property Services Agency
RC	Remand Centre
RCHME	Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England
RTU	Ready-to-use Unit
SIPD	Society for the Improvement of Prison Design
SPCK	Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge
SSU	Special Security Unit
USA	United States of America
YOI	Youth Offenders Institution

Introduction: People and Buildings

> The mood and temper of the public with regard to the treatment of crime and criminals is one of the most unfailing tests of the civilisation of any country. (*Winston Churchill, speech in the House of Commons, 10 July 1910.*)

Prisons are a testimony to the current and previous penal systems but they are also the homes, workplaces, farms, schools, churches and hospitals for nearly 70,000 people. Most are purpose-built institutions ranging in date from the 1780s to the 1990s, but others are in places as diverse as a medieval castle, orphanages, country houses and military camps. Some local prisons still occupy their original small urban sites but since World War II training prisons have been established on large rural sites. Some prisons have no secure perimeter while others containing inmates designated as a high risk have every security feature available to guarantee public safety. The 135 current prisons and a small number of former prisons, which survive as houses or museums, tell a story of society's changing attitude to crime and criminals.

People in prison

The cell lies at the heart of the prison experience (*Figs 1.1 and 1.2*). It was an invention of the 18th century, inspired by medieval monastic precedents and like its religious predecessors it was to be a place of contemplation, allowing its occupants time to reflect on their crime. Originally for occupation during the night only, the introduction of the separate system in the 1840s meant that inmates spent 23 hours per day in their cells. They ate, washed, worked and slept in them. A simple toilet and washbasin were incorporated in Victorian cells to allow this, but were removed by the end of the 19th century as they were prone to blockages and leaks. The cell has changed dramatically during the course of the present century, reflecting the huge changes that have occurred in imprisonment. The severe austerity of the late 19th-century cell, devoid of any human expression, has gradually evolved into the more homely environment in which basic creature comforts are provided. All cells are approximately the same size. However, each occupant finds ways of customising their own living space and hundreds of inmates have allowed us to record their homes (Fig 1.3). Although an architectural history inevitably concentrates on the buildings as historic artefacts, we have also attempted to see them as people's homes and workplaces.

The cell has been a central design feature of prisons for more than 200 years, but the nature of imprisonment has changed profoundly over this period. Before John Howard's reforms in the late 18th century, most prisons allowed virtually unregulated association between prisoners. A basic division may have been made between the male and female parts of a prison and sometimes felons and debtors were housed separately. However, in general, prisoners of all ages, guilty of all types of crimes were accommodated together in large rooms. Moreover, little control was exercised over the access of visitors and sightseers to prisons.

Between the late 18th and the early 20th centuries, two main systems of imprisonment predominated – *the associated and separate* systems. Both systems sought to prevent communication between prisoners, and to inhibit the contamination of first offenders by habitual criminals. Under the associated system, also called the congregate system, prisoners occupied individual sleeping cells at night, but laboured together in common workrooms during the day. A similar system developed in the United States of America (USA) during the 1820s, known as the silent system because total silence was enforced by means of corporal punishment. The associated system was practised in most English prisons during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Prisons were built with one or

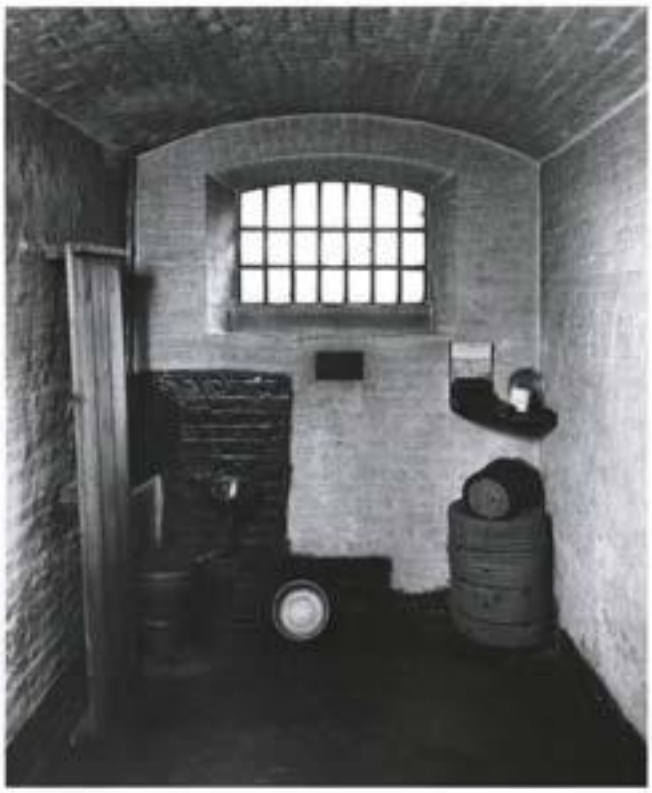


Figure 1.1 (left)
Newgate Gaol, Greater London. Late 19th-century photograph of cell. Prisoners in the late 19th century slept on a hard bed with a thin mattress. A small toilet and basin, facilities which had been provided since the 1840s, were gradually being removed from cells.
[DD87/12]

Figure 1.2 (right)
Cell in HMP Usk, Gwent. For many inmates today the Victorian cell is still their home. Simple sanitation has been added during the past ten years and a strict limit on the amount of property in a cell has been enforced.
[AA98/08788]

more floors of sleeping cells above arcaded dayrooms and workrooms. Some productive work was undertaken but, with the invention of an improved treadwheel in 1818, purely penal hard labour was introduced. Inmates were classified into general groups, divided by sex, age (adult or juvenile), nature of offence (felony, misdemeanour, debt or vagrancy) and by whether a prisoner was charged or convicted. Each class was accommodated in their own cells and dayroom, and had a separate exercise yard.

The separate system was the antithesis of the associated system, but it was also the apotheosis of classification since under it every prisoner was in effect in a class of his own. Inmates occupied individual cells by day and night, working and sleeping in them. They left their cells only for religious worship and exercise, but complete separation continued in both the chapel and the airing yards. The origins of the separate system go back to the late 18th century, a similar system having been proposed by Jonas Hanway in *Solitude in Imprisonment* (1776). It was introduced into several reformed prisons of the late 18th century, particularly Petworth House of Correction and Gloucester Penitentiary. However, it was not maintained since overcrowding necessitated the sharing of cells. The separate system was in effect reintroduced to England from the USA in the mid-19th century. Its implementation transformed local prisons in the decades after 1840 and it was made compulsory in 1865. New wings and entirely new prisons were built containing large separate cells furnished with all the necessities for prison life. Separate cell blocks were provided for men, women, juveniles and debtors. Intended to be reformatory, with an emphasis on religious and moral influences, the system became increasingly deterrent and was characterised by punitive hard labour on the treadwheel and crank.

In contrast, convicts were held under an associated system in public works prisons in the mid- and late 19th century. During the day they worked together and at night they slept in small, individual sleeping berths. By the end of the 19th century, the associated system had been readopted in local prisons. Productive work was introduced after 1878, at first carried out in cells but later undertaken in silent association in wing corridors, former treadwheel houses and workshops. Industrial training was provided to help inmates earn their living on release. Prisoners were classified, with specialist

prisons being established for different categories of offenders, such as inebriates, juvenile-adults and habitual criminals. The rule of silence was relaxed in the early 1920s although it took until the 1950s for it to be abolished.

The decline in the prison population in the 1920s and 1930s allowed a new type of imprisonment to be introduced. The open prison was an idea inspired by Alexander Paterson, who joined the Prison Commission in 1922. He believed that prisons should have a positive impact on an offender's behaviour, with an inmate's personality being developed by an active physical and mental programme. To achieve this he first concentrated on developing the borstal system for the reform and training of young offenders by introducing ideas from the public school system. In the long term he hoped that prisons could be replaced by specialised institutions for training and assessing prisoners.

The first two open institutions were borstals but by 1936 an open prison for adult prisoners had opened at New Hall Camp. In open prisons the dormitory supplanted the cell and it became the type of accommodation provided in a number of prisons established after World War II in former military camps. Many of these wartime camps, and a number of country houses that had been requisitioned by the military, are still part of the Prison Service estate. Therefore many short-term Category C prisoners, as well as Category D prisoners (for a definition of prisoner categories *see* Chapter 8), sleep in open dormitories or dormitories subdivided into cubicles.

The Criminal Justice Act 1948 introduced new approaches to imprisoning habitual offenders and fundamental reforms of the system for young offenders. No prisoner under the age of 21 was to be sent to prison unless there was no alternative. Instead they could receive borstal training or, for shorter sentences, be sent to a detention centre. Remand centres were created for those on remand and awaiting sentencing. Attendance centres were established for offenders aged between 12 and 21 years of age who had breached a probation order.

The most important reform in the 1950s was based on the Norwich Experiment. It introduced dining in association, increased working hours and the amount of time inmates spent out of their cells. Staff and inmates were to enjoy a more relaxed relationship and each member of staff was to become responsible for sixteen designated inmates. The last vestiges of the separate system were swept away, resulting in a more relaxed and constructive atmosphere. In the 1960s the aim was to offer training and treatment for inmates in small groups 'to encourage and assist them to lead a good and useful life' and a key part of the regime was for inmates to spend prolonged periods out of their cells.[1] New Wave prisons were therefore designed with small cells that were simply to be bedrooms, with easy access to sanitation throughout the day. Constructive work was still to be a central feature of the regime for convicted prisoners. However, the 40-hour week that had existed during the 1930s had been reduced to 26 hours by 1956.[2] Although efforts have been made during the past forty years to raise this figure, restricted budgets and a rising prison population have largely defeated this. Purposeful activity in 1998 was only 23 hours per week though the immediate ambition is to raise this figure to 35 hours.

Figure 1.3
HMP Grendon, Buckinghamshire. Cell decorated as a timber-framed cottage. Inmates normally decorate their cells with a few posters. In this cell the occupant was attempting to recreate a cottage with horse-brasses and decorative paper plates above the window. [AA96/05435]

Huge expenditure has been incurred in the past thirty years to create prisons that provide more humane conditions and facilities suitable for the aims of training and treatment. However, with hindsight it is now clear that these prisons are less satisfactory for both staff and inmates. Both feel more unsafe in the short spurs and floored wings than in conventional Victorian wings with open landings. The installation of in-cell sanitation has proved to be particularly problematic in the small cells of these prisons.

In the 1830s English prison reformers looked to the USA for new ideas about imprisonment and the same process was repeated in the early 1980s. This resulted in a new type of architecture as well as a new philosophy of imprisonment. In New Generation prisons inmates are held in small groups where they interact closely with staff, allowing continuous direct supervision. This aims to create a safe atmosphere and co-operation is fostered through structured systems of rewards and punishments. At the same time as the USA was being investigated for inspiration, architects began to design wings similar in their internal form to Victorian prisons. Although 19th-century prisons had been built to enforce strict segregation, architects in the 1980s recognised that their design could be adapted to meet modern needs. Therefore since 1990 all new wings, apart from the three New Generation prisons, have employed this form.

The buildings of the prison

Since the late 18th century, there have been successive rebuildings of prisons leading to a great diversity in their layout and appearance. During the second half of the 20th century considerable numbers of prisons opened on former military sites, some of which still employ, with suitable adaptations, the original buildings. Nevertheless each prison has to provide the full range of accommodation and facilities appropriate for the size and level of security of the institution.

All prisons have a perimeter wall or fence and a gatehouse giving access into the interior. During the late 18th and early 19th centuries prisons usually had a small, though often elaborate gatehouse containing the porter's accommodation and reception facilities (Fig I.4). The gatehouses of separate-system prisons of the mid-19th century were often flanked by houses for the governor and chaplain, but new gatehouses in the late 19th century were simpler, with staff accommodation being provided away from the gate. New Wave prisons of the mid-20th century have more extensive entrance buildings containing the gatehouse as well as administration, visits and, sometimes, reception facilities. These new gates were designed to offer visitors a more 'normal' experience when visiting an imprisoned relative and they also reduced the number of people who had to be granted access to the secure heart of the prison. Prisons built since the late 1980s have continued the idea of a gate complex having a wider range of functions (Fig I.5). In modern open prisons the perimeter wall is symbolic rather than real and the gate is a place for registering visitors and regulating access and egress.

On arrival in prison, all new inmates are taken first to reception. The necessary documentation is filled in, health checks are made, private property is stored and civilian clothing is exchanged for a prison uniform. In the past, new arrivals would also be bathed and their clothing fumigated before being stored. In late 18th- and early 19th-century prisons, reception facilities were located in the gatehouse, together with night cells for holding prisoners admitted late in the evening. Male reception facilities were situated in the basement of the administration wing of mid-19th-century radial prisons, while female facilities were found in the basement of the women's wing. Prisons built in the 1880s and 1890s had two detached buildings, containing the reception and an infirmary, one for each sex, and similar buildings were added to a number of earlier prisons. Since the 1960s most reception facilities have been located in the gate complex or in a building immediately inside the perimeter.

Rooms are now set aside in prisons for visits to prisoners by friends, families and legal representatives. In the mid-19th century rooms for visits were situated in the administration wing. These contained visiting boxes with an officer sitting in the middle between the prisoner and visitor. All three were separated from each other by metal grilles. Since the 1920s most visits have taken place across or around tables. Some prisons have long tables with prisoners sitting on one side and visitors on the other. However, most visits rooms have

Figure I.4 (opposite) HMP Leicester, Leicestershire. General view of gate. 1825–8. William Parsons. The gate is the public face of the prison. This strong castle-like design hints at the origins of many prisons while reassuring the public of its security. [AA98/00484]

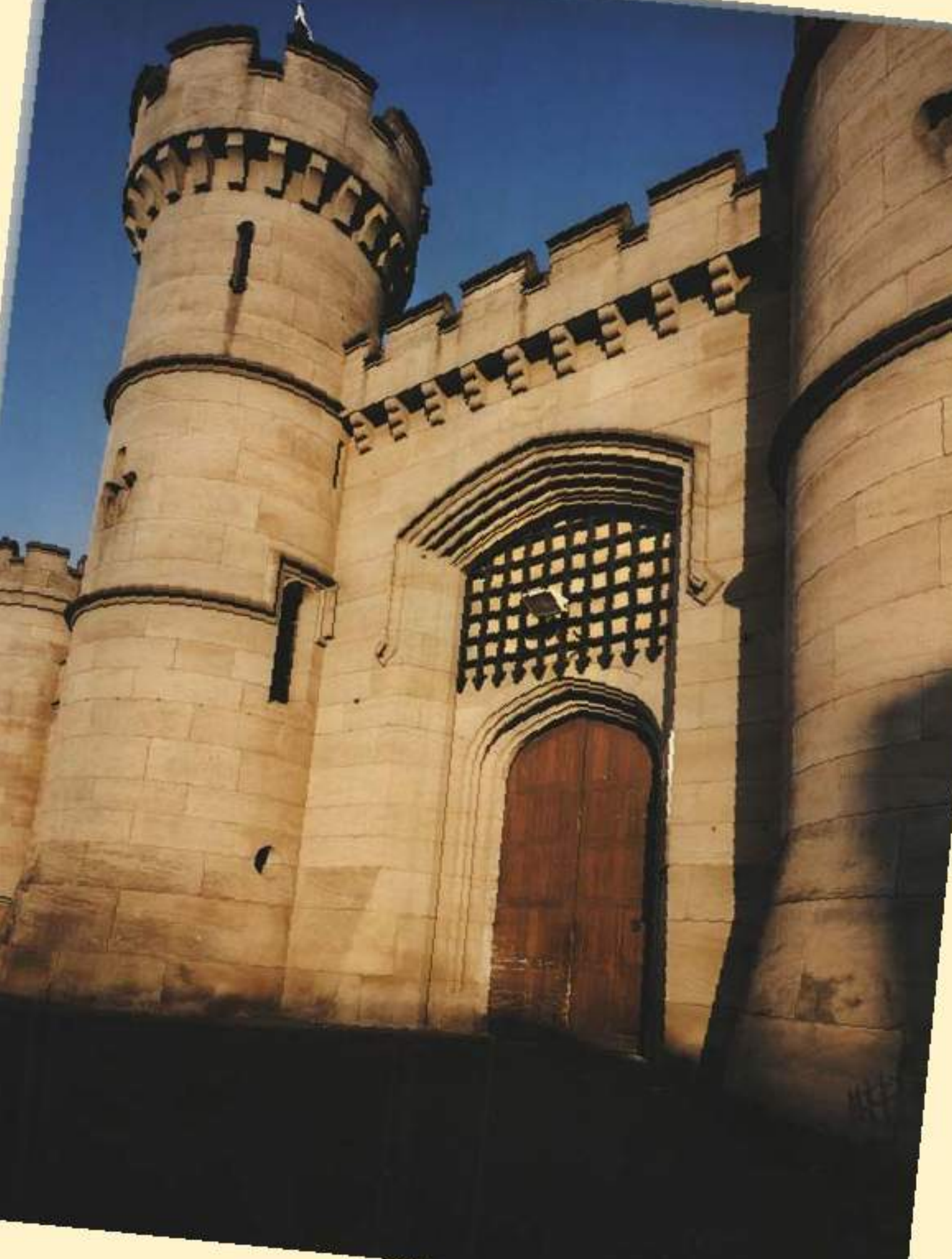


Figure 1.5
HMP Birmingham, West Midlands. General view of gate. Late 1980s. The requirements of modern prisoner transport has led to the alteration or demolition of many older gates and their replacement with purpose-built new facilities. [AA95/05473]

groups of four chairs around a table at which a prisoner and his visitors sit, with play areas provided for small children.

The buildings in which prisoners are accommodated are variously called wings, cell blocks and house blocks. The wings of late 18th- and early 19th-century prisons were predominantly rectangular, with arcaded workrooms on the ground floor and sleeping cells above. These cells opened inwards on to a central corridor or outwards on to external walkways. Wings were also often divided longitudinally by solid walls, to allow two classes of prisoners to share one cell block. After the new model prison at Pentonville of the 1840s new wings were open internally from floor to ceiling, with the cells on the upper levels being reached from landings. This allowed a small number of staff to ensure that no prisoner infringed the strict rules of silence within the wing. Most cell blocks were double-sided, with cells on both sides of the central nave. However, many wings for women, juveniles and debtors were single-sided with one row of cells only. The cells measured 13ft by 7ft by 10ft high (3.9 × 2.1 × 3.0m) and were furnished to allow them to be occupied by day and night. Before about 1880 the cells contained toilets and washbasins but later 19th-century wings were built with ablution

towers, and these were subsequently added to earlier cell blocks. A significant change in the design of prison wings occurred with the New Wave prisons of the 1960s. They have T-, X- or Y-shaped house blocks that are floored. Staff offices and association rooms are sometimes situated on the ground floor with the cells located on the upper floor. Alternatively, one spur contains the offices and association rooms with the others containing cells. The cells were intended to be bedrooms only and were therefore smaller than their Victorian predecessors. Since the mid-1980s architects have returned to designing wings with open landings and a layout reminiscent of Victorian wings. New Generation house blocks, which are arranged in pairs to share central facilities, have a rectangular or square association area, with two or three tiers of cells around it.

Special cells have to be provided in prisons for inmates who cause control problems. Prisons built between about 1780 and 1835 had dark solitary cells in which disobedient or violent prisoners could be incarcerated. They often had a secure lobby between the corridor and cell. Small punishment cells were often situated in the basements of mid-19th-century prison wings. In modern prisons separate segregation units are provided (Fig I.6).

Healthcare is available in every prison and the medical staff are capable of treating most conditions suffered by prisoners. Hospital facilities have been provided inside prisons since the late 18th century. Before around 1835 there were often detached male and female infirmaries set away from the main prison buildings and surrounded by an airing court for convalescents. Alternatively, small infirmaries may have been located on the top floors of the central governor's house. The infirmaries of mid-19th-century prisons were usually either in the administration wing adjacent to the chapel or in a cell block. By the late 19th century detached buildings containing receptions and infirmaries were erected at both new and existing prisons. They usually had the reception on the ground floor, the infirmary on the first floor and an isolation ward, with a separate external access, on the top floor. Prisons built since 1960 have a separate healthcare centre which provides a wide range of medical and dental care.

Before the mid-19th century, the governor of a prison lived inside its walls, often in the central building around which the wings or exercise yards radiated. After 1840, accommodation for senior members of staff was moved outside and houses for the governor and chaplain were built on either side of the gatehouse. Rooms were made available for other members of staff inside the prison. The matron and schoolmaster might be housed in the female and juvenile wings respectively, and turrets around the perimeter walls could also be used for accommodation. In the late 19th century, houses were provided for the governor, deputy governor and other members of staff near the prison but away from the gatehouse. During the 1920s the main emphasis of the Prison Commission's building programme was to provide staff quarters and in the 1960s, housing estates for prison officers were built beside a number of New Wave prisons. In the past thirty years staff housing has been sold by the Prison Service.

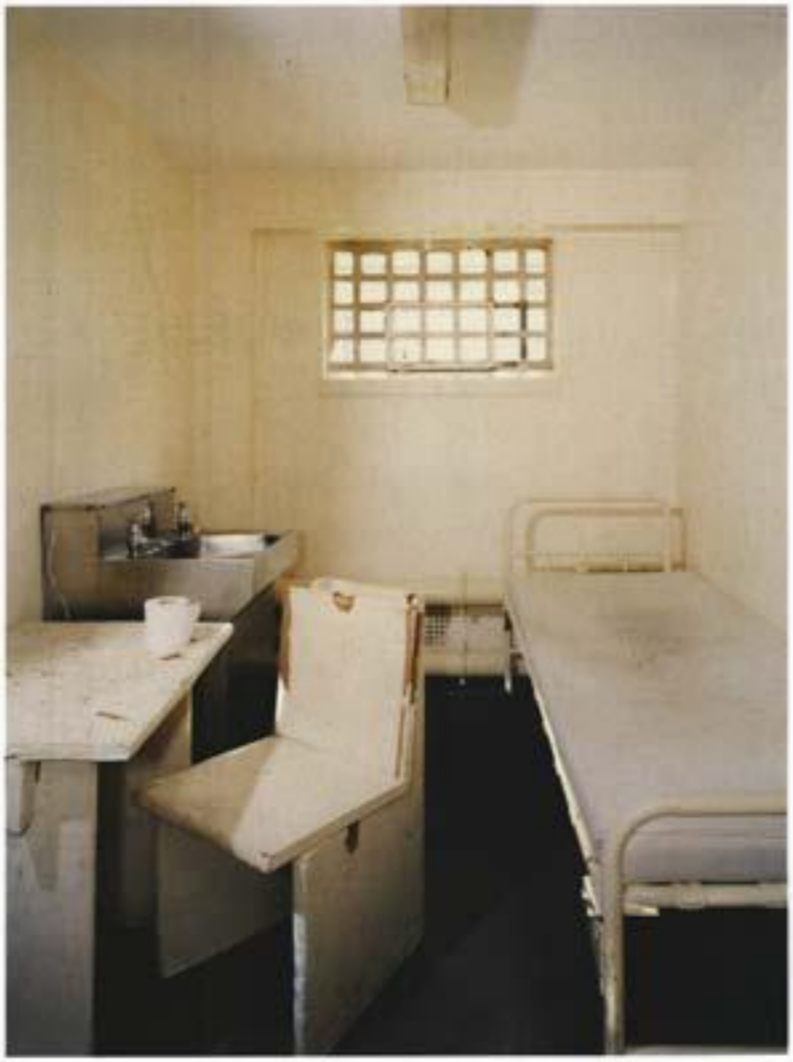


Figure I.6
HMP Hindley, Greater Manchester. Interior of segregation unit cell. 1959–61. This stark cell with cardboard furniture houses inmates who have breached discipline. The harsh regime is expected to last for short periods and to serve as a deterrent as well as a punishment. [AA96/06135]

Figure I.7
HMP Bristol, Bristol. Textiles workshop. In prisons with convicted inmates there is an acute need for work. Many have workshops producing clothing and other items for use elsewhere in the prison system. [AA95/04477]

An important element of a prison sentence is work, whether as part of the punishment, as a way of making time pass more quickly or as a means of learning new skills. In late 18th- and early 19th-century prisons, workrooms in which inmates worked together were situated on the ground floors of cell blocks and after 1819 treadwheels were erected. These might power an adjacent corn mill or pump water around the prison but many were simply punitive, driving a spinning sail on the roof of the treadwheel house. Under the separate system, prisoners worked alone in their cells or in separate compartments on a treadwheel, or in a pumphouse. Men also worked in the kitchen, situated in a wing basement, and women worked in the laundry, which was located either in the female wing basement or in a building near to it. School lessons were given in the chapel. In the late 19th century, detached kitchens and laundries were built and, with the introduction of productive, industrial work, workshops were built (Fig I.7). Prisons of the mid- and late 20th century have extensive classrooms and workshops, in which training is given and goods are manufactured, both for prison use and for outside contracts.

Religious worship was central to prison regimes in the past and it remains important for many prisoners today. In prisons built between about 1780 and 1835, the chapel was often situated on an upper storey of the central building but by the mid-century it was normally located on the first floor of the administration wing. In mid- and late 20th-century prisons, the chapel is a central feature of the prison, providing a place for Christian worship and sometimes for other religions. Some prisons have a multi-faith room that can be used by any non-Christian faith but larger prisons have specific rooms for individual religions.

Although all prisons have the same types of facilities, the character of the buildings that house them depends on the date and origin of the prison. This book describes how these buildings have evolved since the Middle Ages. It concentrates on the development of inmate accommodation that has always been at the heart of penal thinking although it also describes changes to other types of buildings. It also identifies the major shifts in penal policy and discusses the work of major reformers and architects. Most aspects of imprisonment today have their origins in the reforming zeal of one man and thus it is inevitable that any study of prisons will begin with John Howard.

1
Prisons and Punishment before 1775

The state of the prisons in the late 18th century

John Howard became High Sheriff of Bedfordshire in 1773, an event that transformed his life and the life of England's prisoners. He began a series of journeys around England gathering evidence about the conditions that he witnessed and his findings were published in 1777 in *The State of the Prisons*. The buildings that he visited were usually in a poor state of repair and even modern purpose-built prisons, such as St George's Fields in Newington (Surrey) which was built in 1772, had dirty rooms inhabited by chickens. Many prisons had no sewers or water supply and urban prisons on cramped sites often had no exercise yards. Inmates were sometimes detained in pits and many were forced to sleep directly on the ground. One of the worst pits was at Warwick: 'Men-felons have a day-room: their night room is in an octagonal Dungeon about twenty-one feet [6.4m] diameter, down thirty-one steps; close, damp, and offensive'[1] (Fig 1.1). In 1789 Thomas Bowdler found forty-one prisoners in this prison, but only thirty-five had space to lie down around the open cesspit.[2] The pit, which was 18ft 10in. (5.7m) below the ground, ceased to be used in 1797 though it was still in existence in 1815. It was rediscovered in 1861 during the demolition of the prison.[3]

In some prisons windows were blocked to avoid the payment of window tax, as at the city gaol at Worcester, leading to dark interiors and poor ventilation. Air, which was described by Dr Stephen Hales as a 'genuine cordial of life', was thought likely to become contaminated 'by the effluvia from the sick' and ventilation was recognised to be important in improving the health of inmates. Dr Hales was a physiologist who invented artificial ventilators that were employed in ships and granaries, and he also installed them in a number of prisons, including Newgate in 1752. His ventilators were driven by wind but Howard also found a hand-powered ventilator at Worcester County Gaol which 'freshens and cools the dungeon amazingly', the dungeon being a pit beneath the yard.[4] Prisons were known to be a threat to the health of any visitor: 'The felons in this country lie worse than dogs or swine, and are kept much more uncleanly than those animales are in kennels or sties. ... The stench and nastiness are so nauseous ... that no person enters there without the risk of his health and life.'[5] Howard also feared that the foul air would infect him: 'It was not, I own, without some apprehensions of danger, when I first visited the prisons; and I guarded myself by

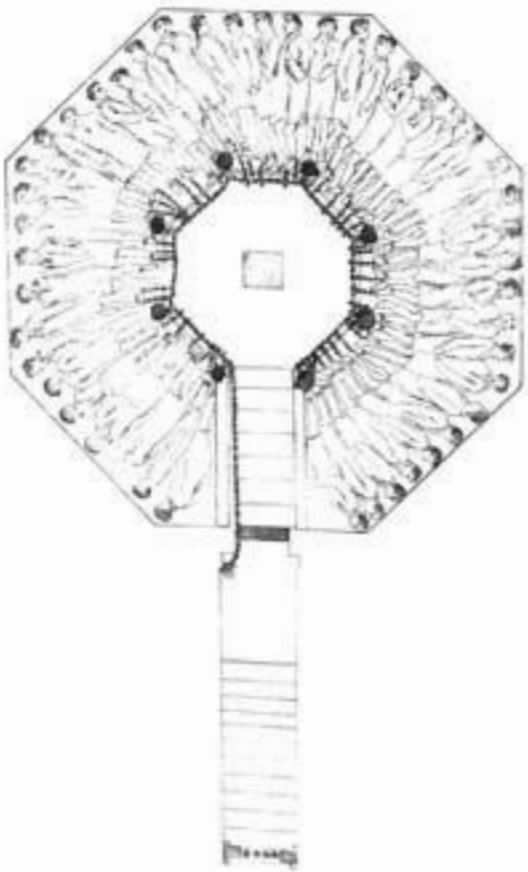


Figure 1.1
Pit at Warwick Gaol, Warwickshire. Pits were still common in 18th-century prisons despite being condemned by John Howard.
[From Anon 1817a, by permission of the British Library Tract 3 8285 bbb34 (3)]

smelling to vinegar, while I was in those places, and changing my apparel afterwards."[6] He hoped that proper ventilation would help prevent the spread of gaol fever (typhus) but he also realised that dirty clothing and a lack of cleanliness might be causing the disease. Vermin were also a problem in some prisons. At Knaresborough (North Yorkshire) an officer who had been imprisoned for a few days 'took in with him a dog to defend him from vermin; but the dog was soon destroyed, and the Prisoner's face much disfigured by them'. The surroundings, as well as the buildings, were also filthy with prisons such as Birmingham and Gloucester having dungheaps in the yards.[7]

The diet of inmates was dependent on their ability to pay fees and for the poorest a period in prison could lead to their death. Fees were also levied on the arrival and discharge of the inmates, and iron fetters could be removed if prisoners paid for this privilege. Poor prisoners relied on alms or charitable legacies and alms baskets were hung outside prisons or lowered from windows. At some prisons inmates were allowed to wander the street to collect money.[8] Money was also bequeathed to prisons to help provide for poor inmates. However, inmates with money could enjoy a comfortable lifestyle. Their family could live with them and they could pay to be released during the day, or in the case of Thomas Dumay to travel to France. Gaolers could make money by charging an admission fee for the public to see a famous prisoner. William Pitt, the keeper of Newgate, made more than £3,000 from people who wanted to see the Jacobites in 1716 while £200 was raised from visitors to see the highwayman Jack Shephard.[9] James Boswell on 3 May 1763 decided to visit Newgate apparently out of simple curiosity:

> I then thought I should see prisoners of one kind or other, so went to Newgate. I stepped into a sort of court before the cells. They are surely most dismal places. There are three rows of 'em, four in a row, all above each other. They have double iron windows, and within these, strong iron rails; and in these dark mansions are the unhappy criminals confined. I did not go in, but stood in the court, where were a number of strange blackguard beings with sad countenances, most of them being friends and acquaintances of those under sentence of death.[10]

The ease of visiting undoubtedly added to the air of disorder within a prison, but freely available alcohol and tobacco together with gambling and the mingling of the sexes also contributed to poor morality and bad behaviour. A new inmate arriving in prison was forced to pay garnish (a gaoler's fee) which could be used to fund a riotous party.[11] Bernard de Mandeville wrote of Newgate: 'The licentiousness of the place is abominable ... They eat and drink what they can purchase, everybody has admittance to them, and they are debarr'd from nothing but going out.'[12] Jacob Ilive (1705–63) wrote in 1757 that during his time in Clerkenwell House of Correction he

> observed a great number of dirty young wenches intermixed with some men, some felons who had fetters on, sitting on the ground against the wall, sunning and lousing themselves; others lying sound asleep; some sleeping with their faces in men's laps, and some men doing the same by the women. I found on enquiry that these women, most of them, were sent hither by the justices as loose and disorderly persons.[13]

Prisons in medieval England

The conditions that Howard observed in the 1770s had their origins in the Middle Ages when disease, vermin, poor hygiene and a diet dependent on fees or alms emerge as common themes in descriptions of imprisonment. Many buildings that he was visiting had been built in the Middle Ages, new purpose-built prisons being relatively uncommon before the 1770s. Imprisonment in medieval England had its origins before the Norman Conquest. Prison as a punishment was first prescribed in the 890s for the breaking of oaths and by the 10th century witchcraft, sorcery and arson could all lead to imprisonment.[14] At the Council of Whittlebury in around 930 Athelstan imposed prison as the punishment for juvenile thieves.[15] However, fines, corporal punishment, mutilation and capital punishment were more often the means for dealing with feuds and crimes, as these

punishments were easy to execute and could be financially beneficial to the wronged party. Their use also alleviated the responsible authorities from the expense of providing anything beyond the smallest prison. However, a number of royal manors did have prisons and as in post-Conquest times there may have been monastic prisons.[16] In excavations at Monkwearmouth (Tyne and Wear) a small strongroom was identified which may have served as a prison.[17]

The most important legacy of the Anglo-Saxons regarding prisons lies in their administrative organisation of the country. By the early 11th century England south of the River Tees was divided into shires and the king appointed a sheriff to manage the finances, justice and customs of each shire.[18] At the Assize of Clarendon in 1166 sheriffs became responsible for the erection of county gaols with the cost being met by the Crown and by 1216 only five counties did not have their own gaol.[19] The new prisons, like the earlier ones, were usually in castles in the county towns although gaols were also being built in other large towns. By 1200 Staffordshire had a gaol at Lichfield but there were also gaols at Stafford and Newcastle under Lyme, both of which were probably in their respective castles.[20]

The use of prison as a punishment gradually became more common during the Middle Ages. By the reign of Edward I it was the punishment for some offences concerning legal proceedings and was used to enforce aspects of Forest Law and to punish some breaches of Magna Carta.[21] It was also the fate of anyone who allowed, or helped a prisoner to escape from a prison, and was used to punish prostitutes and brothelmongers.[22] From 1178 Crown debtors could be sent to prison to force them to settle their debts and this practice had been extended to include general debt by 1352.[23] For the next 500 years debtors were to form a large part of the prison population. From the late 13th century onwards prison was used to enforce laws governing other aspects of the commercial and financial life of the country. Corruption, disruption of trade, using false measures and selling poor-quality goods could all lead to imprisonment. It was also used to punish seditious slanders and a range of offences against public morals. Vagrants and people who left their work voluntarily could also be imprisoned, a clear anticipation of the approach to vagrancy that was to develop during the 16th century.[24] Between the reign of Edward I and the Reformation, new statutes provided for imprisonment in 180 instances. Some were fixed-term punishments specified in the statute, typically between 40 days and a year and a day. However, some offences could lead to longer fixed sentences including life imprisonment for kidnappers and some felons. Felons could escape execution by claiming Benefit of Clergy, normally by reading a verse from Psalm 51 and therefore their capital sentence would be commuted to a long prison sentence.[25]

Figure 1.2
HMP Lancaster, Lancashire. General view of site. At the heart of the castle is the Norman keep, which has been adapted for prison use. Other medieval buildings have also been adapted while in the 18th and 19th centuries new buildings in medieval styles were added. [AA95/05577]

Figure 1.3
Oxford Castle, Oxford. D wing and St George's Tower. 11th century and 1790s. The tower from the Norman castle was retained when the prison was rebuilt in the late 18th and 19th centuries. D wing was built adjacent to the tower, and was above the chapel crypt. [AA96/05991]

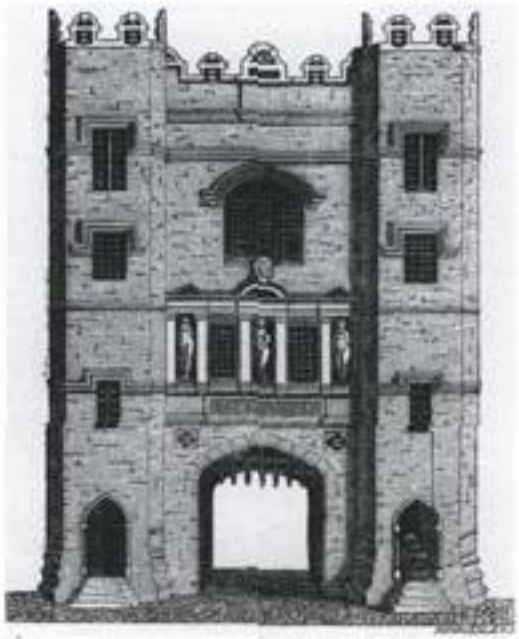


Figure 1.4
Newgate. 1420s. Although Newgate was a national prison, it was located in a gate of the City of London. Gates were one of the most common buildings used for detaining inmates. [From Mayhew and Binny 1862; BB97/09724]

By the end of the Middle Ages there were prisons in every major town, as well as those that served individual liberties and franchises. The Assize of Clarendon in 1166 meant that county towns were to be provided with a gaol that would serve the whole county, and some of those sites are still in use as prisons. Lancaster Castle, now HMP Lancaster, retains many of its medieval buildings, including its keep (Fig 1.2). At HMP Oxford, which closed in 1996, the Norman undercroft of the chapel and St George's Tower survive, and by the early 17th century the gaol was in a building beside this tower (Fig 1.3).[26] Three other current prisons, HMP Gloucester, HMP Dorchester and HMP Maidstone are on the sites of medieval castles, though none of the early fabric survives above ground.

The main requirement of a prison was to be secure and gaols serving towns were frequently housed in town gates. The most famous medieval prison in a gate was Newgate, which served as a city gaol and as a national prison (Fig 1.4). It was on the site of one of the gates of Roman Londinium that was rebuilt during the 12th century. Money from the will of Sir Richard Whittington (d 1423) was used to rebuild it and in 1630–1 it was refronted.[27]

Bridges and civic buildings were also employed as prisons. By 1398 there were probably two prisons on the bridge over the River Ouse in York that were used by the mayor and sheriff to hold felons and misdemeanants.[28] The bridge was rebuilt after a flood in 1565 and by 1574 there was a

reference to a 'new house' and 'chambers' on the bridge. In some towns a prison was included in the guildhall or market hall. A gaol is mentioned at Lichfield (Staffordshire) in 1163–4 and three stalls around it are referred to in 1309, suggesting that it was located in the marketplace.[29] The existing guildhall at Hadleigh (Suffolk) is the only remnant of a whole complex of civic buildings that existed around the marketplace. Besides a wool hall, grammar school and almshouses, there was a prison that may have been medieval in origin.[30] At Northampton prisoners were held in rooms beneath the town hall from the 14th century onwards[31] and the surviving 15th-century town hall at Fordwich (Kent) also held prisoners (Fig 1.5). Great Yarmouth (Norfolk) was granted the right to maintain its own gaol in 1261 and this was housed in a 13th-century building that served as a town hall, courthouse and gaol until the 19th century. It is a two-storeyed flint building with stone dressings containing four cells in the basement. The first floor has a separate access by an external stair, allowing the three storeys to carry out their separate functions. Apart from civic buildings, other substantial buildings could also be employed as prisons. In 1254 a mill was used at Faversham (Kent) to house thieves while prisoners were held in private houses at Havering (Essex).[32]

Besides civil prisons, the church had the right to imprison offenders. The church council at Aix-la-Chapelle in 817 required each monastery to have separate sleeping accommodation and a workroom for offenders and by the 10th century most dioceses and monasteries may have had one.[33] These prisons were probably only single rooms within one of the buildings of the cathedral or monastery. However, larger buildings were provided when the clergyman had judicial responsibilities beyond the immediate precinct of the church. In 1330–2 the Archbishop of York built a large stone gaol at Hexham (Northumberland) (Fig 1.6).[34] It is a three-storeyed free-standing tower with two dungeons that are more than 10ft (3m) below the floor. These pits and the ground-floor chambers housed prisoners while an official of the archbishop or higher-status prisoners probably used the better-quality first-floor rooms. The Bishop of Ely had a courtroom and prison in the Ely Porta that was begun in 1397 and completed in the early 15th century. It is a large,

Figure 1.5 (left) Fordwich Town Hall, Kent. 15th century. Town halls, as the responsibility of a local community, were frequently used to hold offenders for short periods. [BB98/01345]

Figure 1.6 (below) Old gaol in Hexham (Hexham Manor Office), Northumberland. 1330–2. The largest surviving gaol of the Middle Ages served the Archbishop of York, who had extensive landholdings for which he had judicial responsibility. [AA98/00141]

rectangular three-storeyed stone block with elaborate traceried windows on the second floor which mark the location of the court-room. The prison was in part of the ground floor. The Lollard's Tower in Lambeth Palace, built 1435–6, contained a prison for the Archbishop of Canterbury, and some of its 17th-century fittings survive (Fig 1.7).[35]

Individual manors or groups of manors owned by secular landowners also required prisons, and where Forest Law applied there were prisons for transgressors. Forest prisons were founded at Lyndhurst (Hampshire) in 1358–61 and at Clarendon Palace (Wiltshire) in 1445–6.[36] In Devon and Cornwall prisons were also created to serve the stannary courts at Lydford and Lostwithiel. The tower at Lydford survives and it probably served both the Devon stannaries and the Forest of Dartmoor (Fig 1.8).[37] It was first mentioned in 1195 but in the mid-13th century it was rebuilt, a pit was created within the base and the mound raised against the exterior. The carcass of Lostwithiel Palace also remains though the function of individual parts cannot be determined as it has been converted into houses. Like the stannaries, the universities at Oxford and Cambridge had to make provision for imprisoning errant clerks. At Cambridge the town gaol was used during the 13th century while in 1293 the Chancellor of the University of Oxford asked for an extra floor to be added to the town gaol so that clerks could be held separately from other secular offenders.[38]

Figure 1.7
Lambeth Palace, Greater London. Room in Lollard's Tower. 1435–6. The Archbishop of Canterbury's judicial responsibilities over landholdings also required a prison, which was provided in his palace. [BB93/06893]

During the Middle Ages there were improvements in prison conditions. Attempts were made to segregate the sexes and to create some level of separation of classes of inmates according to their offence. The reference to the desire for an extra storey in the town gaol at Oxford in 1293 for clerics and the creation of a separate prison for prostitutes in the early 14th century show some concern with separation by this date.[39] The regulations of Newgate of 1431 included a rough classification system.[40] Spiritual life was not ignored. Chapels began to appear in gaols, for example in Newgate in 1431, though the first clergyman was not appointed to a prison until 1544.[41] It was another 150 years before a surgeon was appointed to a gaol but the provision of running water and a fountain at Newgate in the 1430s shows that efforts were being made to improve hygiene.[42] The creation of regulations at Newgate in 1431 and an annual system of inspection in 1462 both suggest a desire for improving the management of prisons. As most medieval prisons were makeshift, escapes were probably common. Gaolers feared escapes as they lost fees and could be fined or lose office. An Act of 1504 fixed the rate of the fine for allowing an escape so that it was higher than the level of any bribe that would be offered to the gaoler.[43]

The 1504 Act was the first indication of a national interest in the regulation of prisons. However, the most significant national intervention was the 1531 Gaol Act that lapsed, after several renewals, in 1582–3.[44] Justices of the Peace (JPs) in all but fourteen counties were to raise funds to build a county gaol where one was required. Two surveyors were to oversee its erection and once completed the prison was to be handed to the sheriff, who would be responsible for its maintenance and management. This Act was little

Figure 1.8
Lydford Castle, Devon. General view. Late 12th century, rebuilt in mid-13th century. This large tower served both the Forest of Dartmoor and the prosperous tin-mining districts of Devon. [BB97/09485]

used but it was significant because it was the first time that the office of Justice of the Peace became involved with prisons. This office originated in the early 14th century as the Keeper of the Peace to inquire into felonies and trespasses but after becoming the Justice of the Peace in 1361 it acquired powers to judge crimes. In the early 14th century there were four or five Justices per county but by the late 15th century there could be up to twenty in a large county. Originally meeting twice per year, they later met quarterly at the Quarter Sessions with the High Sheriff or his deputy, the coroner and the high and petty constables. During the 16th century they became responsible for fixing wages, licensing and regulating alehouses, maintaining roads and bridges, and supervising the work of the high constables.[45] They also acquired responsibilities for overseeing poor relief and it was through this that they were to become central to managing prisons.

Vagrancy and crime in the 16th and 17th centuries

By the sixteenth century there was a widespread belief that crime was increasing and that the main cause was the rising number of vagrants visible on the streets. Begging had been accepted during the Middle Ages and had even been a mark of holiness for mendicants who eschewed the wealth of the world. In 1517 the City of London aldermen claimed that there were 1,000 deserving beggars, but by 1569 there were an estimated 13,000 rogues and masterless men.[46] The perception of beggars changed. Vagrants were now feared and subject to corporal punishment, yet they still congregated in towns and cities where the problem was most acutely felt.

The apparent rise in the numbers of vagrants was prompted by fundamental demographic, economic and political changes that occurred during the 16th century.

In the early 1520s the estimated population of England was 2.25 million, while by the end of the century it was over 4 million. Much of this increase was concentrated in cites such as London, which grew from a population of around 60,000 to approximately 200,000.[47] London's growth was the most rapid because it drew in refugees, unemployed people and disbanded soldiers and sailors. Coinciding with the demographic rise, a number of poor harvests, monetary crises and rising unemployment created by the enclosure of common land also contributed to the problems.[48] The dissolution of the monasteries had removed an entire economic and social hierarchy during the 1530s. Alms had supported many poor people and monasteries provided shelter and employment for them. Almost overnight a whole segment of the population was forced from their homes in search of food, shelter and employment, often drifting into the major cities.

The first response to the problem of vagrants was a statute of 1530 that established a licensing system for impotent (incapable of working) beggars.[49] Unlicensed ones were to be whipped and returned to their usual place of residence to receive relief if they were impotent or to work if they were able-bodied. Second and third offences led to whipping, a day in the pillory and the loss of one ear on each occasion. Six years later a statute provided for regular collections to relieve the impotent poor and to set able-bodied poor to work.[50] This Act specified that a third offence was to be classified as a felony, the penalty for which was death. It remained in force until 1547 when a harsher measure replaced it.[51] Vagrants were to be offered work, but if they refused it before two magistrates, they were to be branded with a V on their breast and enslaved for two years. If they absconded, they would be enslaved for life. This statute was repealed in 1549 when the original law of 1530 was revived. It remained on the statute book until 1572 but during its lifetime a new approach to dealing with the problem of crime and poverty was adopted. This solution was Bridewell.

In 1547 the Common Council of London had decided to relieve poverty by levying a rate from the inhabitants of the City but the establishment of Bridewell soon augmented this (Fig 1.9). Edward VI and the City of London agreed its foundation on 12 June 1553 but because of the king's death ten days later, it was not confirmed until February 1556 by Queen Mary and it was finally inaugurated in December 1556.[52] Bridewell was established in the former royal palace of that name, which had remained unused since 1530. Its origins were a house begun by Thomas Wolsey in the early 1510s, the lease of which was transferred in 1515 to Henry VIII who was seeking a new London residence following the destruction of Westminster Palace in 1512.[53] Completed in 1523, it was arranged around two courtyards with a 240ft-long (73.2m) gallery running down towards the Thames. Although it had been disused for nearly thirty years, the surroundings for the paupers would still have been splendid, and must have contrasted markedly with their previous circumstances. The Great Fire of London destroyed Bridewell in 1666.

Bridewell was established 'partly for the setting of idle and lewd people to work, and partly for the lodging and harbouring of the poor, sick and weak, and sore people of the city, and of poor wayfaring people repairing to the same'.[54] In 1579 apprentices there were trained in twenty-five trades as diverse as making tennis balls, feather beds, caps, shoes and lace. For inmates unwilling to work, punitive labour, including a treadwheel, was provided and those with amputations were made to work on a hand or foot mill. Income from the trades contributed towards the running costs of the institution, including the salaries of the staff, though most funding came from endowments, gifts and regular levies imposed by the City.[55]

Within a decade of its establishment similar institutions, known either as bridewells or houses of correction, began to appear in large provincial towns. The earliest appears to have been established at Oxford in 1562, followed by another at Salisbury (Wiltshire) in 1564 and Norwich

Figure 1.9
Bridewell. Built 1510–23. Henry VIII occupied the palace until 1530, after which it was abandoned. In 1556 it was reopened as a new type of prison to deal with the growing numbers of idle poor. [From Stow 1720; by permission of the British Library RB 31.c.218]

(Norfolk) in 1565.[56] In 1563 the Statute of Artificers marked the first statutory use of the bridewell as a place to punish those refusing to work and under the 1572 Vagabonds Act the common gaol or another suitable place was to detain rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars.[57] The 1572 Act also created overseers of the poor, whom the JPs supervised. They were given further responsibilities under the 1576 Poor Act for supplying stocks of wool, flax, hemp, iron and other materials to prevent anyone using the lack of materials as an excuse for idleness.[58] JPs were also asked, but not compelled, to establish houses of correction in every county using funds from local rates. No further legislation was drafted until 1597 when six Acts were passed covering methods of relieving some immediate causes of poverty. These included powers to send anyone refusing to work to a house of correction. Rogues and vagabonds were to be whipped and sent to a gaol or house of correction. JPs were requested to build a house of correction but this became compulsory only with the 1609 Vagabonds Act.[59] Every county had to provide one or more houses of correction by Michaelmas 1611 and supply them with materials and equipment to set the inmates to work. A governor or master was to be appointed to force people to work and to punish them by using irons or moderate whipping. To encourage compliance the threat of a fine of £5 per Justice of the Peace was included in the legislation.[60]

The first bridewells seem to have varied in size, from the one erected at Winchester (Hampshire) in 1578 that cost more than £1,000 to smaller local ones that were single rooms.[61] Some, such as the bridewell at Devizes (Wiltshire), were purpose-built. It was established in 1579 but was rebuilt after fires in 1619 and 1630.[62] It was refronted in 1771 and structurally improved in 1784–5, but survives today as a series of houses. The house of correction at Ripon (North Yorkshire) was in a substantial three-storeyed 17th-century building, beside the county gaol (Fig 1.10). The house of correction at Ilchester (Somerset) was two rooms and a court in the county gaol and at Shrewsbury in 1598 the Quarter Sessions decided to build one in the castle.[63] Some bridewells were housed in existing buildings, including county gaols, which is one reason that the identity of these initially separate institutions converged.

Figure 1.10
Former house of correction, Ripon, North Yorkshire. 17th century. By the 17th century, bridewells or houses of correction had been created all over England, in adapted and purpose-built buildings. [AA98/00521]

In 1602 the burgesses of Wisbech (Cambridgeshire) set aside two tenements to act as a house of correction while at Maidstone (Kent) in 1583 a private house was strengthened to serve as a bridewell.[64]

By 1630 every county had at least one bridewell while some had additional local bridewells. In 1624 the Hertfordshire Grand Jury complained because it was maintaining nine and in 1598 Essex planned to create twenty-three. Bridewells could be established at a local level because the JP provided the administrative structure for both local and county government. The number of bridewells grew at the rate of approximately one per year between 1600 and 1630 but in the following sixty years the rate was only one quarter of this. Economic conditions in the 1690s prompted a renewed building programme for houses of correction with seventeen being built between 1690 and 1720.[65]

House of correction – gaol and workhouse

Bridewell was established to deal with the problem of vagrants in the City of London. However, by the end of the 16th century it was also used for religious, military and political prisoners.[66] Houses of correction all over the country also held petty offenders though this was legitimised by statute only in 1719.[67] At Chelmsford (Essex) the bridewell detained some offenders before trial while by the 1610s prisoners awaiting transportation to Virginia were also being held in houses of correction.[68] They also held people guilty of offences against morals. A man who deserted his family twice was sent to Reading House of Correction in 1740 while in 1669 a woman of 'lude lyfe' was sent to the one at Louth (Lincolnshire) to be set to work.[69] Although houses of correction were regulated by statutes, there seems to have been a great diversity in the character of each institution, with some appearing to place more emphasis on poor relief while others were almost indistinguishable from gaols. Some houses of correction were on the same site as the poorhouse, such as at Thame (Oxfordshire), Wrexham (Denbighshire), Warrington (Cheshire) and Poole (Dorset). At Cambridge the house of correction, founded in 1630, was also a workhouse, while at Whitby (North Yorkshire) there was a desire to found a house of correction to relieve the victims of seasonal variations in the fishing industry.[70] Other bridewells were more penal in character from the outset and were regarded as harsher than contemporary gaols. A Somerset JP wrote to Lord Burghley in 1596 that:

> I sent dyvers wandrynge suspycyous persons to the howse of Correction, and all in general wold beseche me with bytter teares to send them rather to the gayle, and denyinge yt them, some confesses felonyes unto me by which they hazarded ther lyves, to th'end they wold not be sent to the house of Correction where they shold be ynforced to worke.[71]

Houses of correction required the same type of security as gaols and therefore were often located in part of the local gaol or alongside it. Ilchester House of Correction occupied two rooms in the county gaol in 1615 and by 1666 it had become a department of the gaol, with a single keeper for both institutions by 1691. The house of correction at Fisherton Anger (Wiltshire) was founded in 1631 beside the county gaol but by the 1660s the two had merged.[72] The practice of placing the house of correction beside a gaol was recommended in the 1630–1 Book of Orders. However, in some towns the two remained distinct until the 19th century as they had remained on separate sites. At Bedford in 1819 a new house of correction was built on a site beside the county gaol and the two institutions merged only in 1854.

The practicality of maintaining two penal institutions often led to them initially being adjacent and later merging. Legislation also forced the two types of prison together. JPs were responsible for houses of correction and in 1698 were given the additional responsibility for building or repairing county gaols, a power that they had previously had between 1531 and 1582–3.[73] The 1698 Gaols Act also required murderers and felons to be held in gaols though other types of offenders could be held elsewhere. In 1706 felons who had committed theft or larceny, but had claimed Benefit of Clergy, were to be branded and sent to a house of correction or workhouse to be kept at hard labour. The use of houses of correction for felons who had Benefit of Clergy was another important step in their transformation into prisons. Houses of correction continued to exist in name until the 1865 Prison Act.[74]

Crime and punishment in the 17th and 18th centuries

In the 17th and 18th centuries there was a continuing belief that crime was rising, though modern studies suggest that serious violent crime did not rise significantly during this period.[75] However, there was a huge increase in the number of offences that attracted the death penalty. In 1603 there were fifty capital offences but by the early 19th century this number had risen to over 200. Crimes ranging from murder to minor thefts were punished by execution. Capital punishment also became a standard punishment for new types of crime, including destroying turnpikes or cloth in a loom, frame-breaking, writing threatening letters, and malicious maiming or killing of cattle.[76] Although the number of capital crimes rose

dramatically the number of executions did not. This was partly a result of the limited policing available to detect crime, but even those accused of capital felonies could avoid execution in a number of ways. In the early 1720s, 78.9 per cent of capital sentences led to executions, but by the 1730s this had dropped to 38.1 per cent, apparently as a direct result of the increased use of transportation after the 1718 Act.[77] Felons who escaped execution by claiming Benefit of Clergy were branded and imprisoned or transported instead.[78]

Hanging was the most common method of capital punishment. Until the execution of Earl Ferrers in 1759, death was due to asphyxiation but with the introduction of the trapdoor, the neck broke and a swifter death occurred.[79] Death may seem sufficient punishment, but there were gradations of execution possible according to the crime. Petty treason was punished by being drawn on a hurdle before hanging, while high treason was punished by being hung, drawn, dissembled, castrated, beheaded and quartered. Following the passing of the 1752 Murder Act judges could order that executed felons be dissected or hung in chains to increase the deterrent effect. This was to occur the day after conviction, thus removing any chance of appeal. Writers in the 18th century advocated increasingly harsh additional punishments including breaking on the wheel, whipping to death, death by starvation or by rabies. Although English executions could be harsh, they were tame compared with those carried out in France in which dissection, burning and hanging were combined to guarantee maximum suffering by the victim. Although most executions were by hanging, peers were beheaded and female traitors were burnt at the stake. There were also local variations of executions such as burial alive at Sandwich (Kent), death by drowning at Pevensey (East Sussex) and a crude guillotine at Halifax (West Yorkshire).[80]

Death was the ultimate public punishment, but for lesser offences there was a range of other equally public, physical punishments. Offenders could be pilloried or placed in stocks, and although they seem relatively innocuous penalties, they could be fatal. In the winter of 1384 prisoners in the stocks in Salisbury died of the cold while homosexuals or child molesters in the pillory were sometimes stoned to death.[81] Charles Hitchen, convicted of attempted sodomy, wore a suit of armour to survive an hour in the pillory and paid the undersheriff to keep the mob away. Whipping was common, both in public and in a local prison, and for sexual offences an offender could be taken round a town in a cart.[82] The ducking or cucking stool was also used for scolds. These punishments were designed

Figure 1.11
Hulks. Originally intended in 1776 as a temporary measure for two years to deal with inmates who could not be transported to America, hulks continued in use until 1857.
[Greenwich Local History Library]

to shame and physically punish an offender, but the use of fines for minor offences was also a very common penalty.

From the end of the 16th century transportation became a penal option though voluntary banishment had been on the statute books for infringements of Magna Carta.[93] The first convicts were transported to Virginia in 1615 and later to other parts of America where labour was required. Until 1718 convicts had to arrange their own transport or were assigned to merchants who sold them as servants. Thereafter the Treasury paid merchants £3 for every convict sent from London and the Home Counties, while elsewhere similar arrangements were made by local courts. The first contract with the Treasury was assigned to Jonathan Forward and between 1718 and 1722 the Crown paid £86,000 for transporting 18,000 inmates.[94]

Although transportation continued until the 1770s, it was already being used more sparingly before it ceased with the outbreak of hostilities against the British Government in America in 1775. This was seen at the time as a temporary interruption and the response was to pass an Act of Parliament in 1776 that authorised the use for two years of houses of correction and hulks to detain convicts. Transportation to America never resumed though the Government hoped to revive it following the Treaty of Paris in September 1783. In August 1786 the Government decided to use Botany Bay for transportees, a more distant and expensive option. However, Australia had the advantages of a healthy climate, good agriculture and no large native population to resist the settlement. On 26 January 1788 the first convict transports arrived in Australia, and in the next 80 years approximately 150,000 prisoners were sent there while America in the 18th century had received 50,000.[95]

Following the passing of the 1776 Act allowing the use of hulks for the detention of convicts a contract was given to Duncan Campbell who had been responsible for transportation to America since 1772 (Fig 1.11). Campbell provided his own ship, the *Justitia*, which was a 260-ton (256-tonne) old East Indiaman. The other ship that he used was an old frigate, the *Censor*, and both were moored on the Thames, from where the inmates could carry out work on the shore. Conditions on these hulks were extremely harsh. Between the arrival of the first inmate in August 1776 and March 1778 the two ships held 632 prisoners, of whom 176 died and 24 escaped. In evidence to a House of Commons Select Committee in 1779 Campbell described how he had dispensed with hammocks as they were difficult to sleep in when wearing irons.[96] Inmates had to sleep in pairs on mats with a rug to cover them, and were fed on a poor diet. Although established as a short-term solution, the hulks were not abolished when Botany Bay was founded. In fact they continued in use until 1857, when the last hulk moored at Woolwich, the *Defence*, was closed.[97] During the eighty years that hulks were in use, they were moored in dockyards on the Thames, and at Chatham (Kent), Sheerness (Kent), Portsmouth (Hampshire) and Plymouth (Devon). They were also employed in colonies such as Gibraltar, Tasmania, Bermuda and in the West Indies.[98]

Figure 1.12
York Castle County Gaol, North Yorkshire. Built 1701–5 on the site of the castle, this was a rare example of a new purpose-built prison in this period and was the largest gaol built before Newgate in the 1770s. [AA99/09149]

Prisons during the 17th and 18th centuries

Although JPs were granted powers to rebuild prisons in 1698, they were not obliged to repair or rebuild their gaols. Therefore before the late 18th century few new prisons were built. By the 1770s more than thirty major prisons were still located in the increasingly decaying remains of medieval castles, while smaller prisons were still housed in city gates and old fortified buildings. Gloucester's county gaol had been in the castle since the latter had ceased to be used as a fortress in the 15th century, and in 1672 the sheriff established the right to use the inner yards and the surviving buildings of the castle. In reality it was only the keep that survived, yet in 1683 Thomas Baskerville described it as 'the best in England, so that if I were forced to go to prison and make my choice I would come hither'.[89] At Liverpool (Merseyside) 'The Tower' was in part of the remains of a 15th-century house.[90] It was founded in 1737 when the Corporation obtained a 99-year lease and imported grilles and gates from the previous prison to make the building secure. It remained in use until 1811.

Although there are references to repairs and enlargements of prisons in castles, the county gaol at York Castle, built between 1701 and 1705, was a unique construction programme (Fig 1.12).[91] It is a rare example of a prison built immediately after the 1698 Gaols Act and in scale it was the largest gaol built before the 1770s. It is U-shaped in plan with rooms in the three ranges, many of which were subdivided into cells by the early 19th century. The fragmented internal layout is not evident from the grand baroque exterior. Roman Doric pilasters are grouped in two pairs to form an accent in the centre of the south range, which is topped by a large clock and cupola. Both projecting wings have large curved pediments, similar to those used on Robert Hooke's Bethlem Hospital in London (1674–6) or Wren and Hawksmoor's King William Block at the Royal Hospital Greenwich (1698–1728). A local architect, William Wakefield, may have designed the building, but this is not certain.[92] The influence of Hawksmoor and Vanbrugh may be particularly significant, as nearby Castle Howard was in progress at the time that the York prison was being built. No other prison was erected in England in this style and the architect at York would have had no previous large, purpose-built prison on which to base his design. Therefore, its similarity to contemporary grand hospital design is probably a result of the architect being forced to look to another type of institution for inspiration. Contemporary hospital forms also influenced the other grand 18th-century prison, Newgate, but from the 1780s onwards prison architects embarked on a separate line of architectural development that separated their designs from other classes of institution.

As in the Middle Ages prisons also occupied urban buildings, often near the marketplace. By 1705 the gaol in Banbury (Oxfordshire) was in an early 17th-century building on the marketplace that it shared with the Blue Coat School. In 1817 it was able to expand when the school vacated the top floors.[93] The old gaol at Buckingham on Market Hill was built in 1748 at a reputed cost of £7,000 to Viscount Cobham of Stowe, and resembles a small castle, a clear salute to the origins of many gaols. As late as the 1780s prisons were still being built on the marketplace, such as the small one erected in 1783 behind the new Shambles

Figure 1.13
Former gaol, Saturday Market Street, King's Lynn, Norfolk. This small prison was designed by William Tuck and built in 1784. In appearance and plan it resembled other houses in the town, and was recognisable as a prison by the fetters above the door.
[BB97/10598]

Figure 1.14
Former town gaol, Sandwich, Kent. This medieval building, immediately beside the churchyard, refronted in the 17th century, was used as a prison. [AA97/08656]

at Bewdley (Worcestershire). Another small prison was built at King's Lynn (Norfolk) in 1784 to designs by William Tuck (Fig 1.13). While the architecture of the gaol at Buckingham marked it as a prison, only the decorative panel containing chains above the door of the building at King's Lynn indicated that this was a prison. The link between prisons and the marketplace also occurs in Scotland, where prisons were frequently housed in the tollbooth or townhouse.[34]

Prisons were also located on the main streets of a town and externally were frequently similar in scale and appearance to adjacent large domestic buildings. The town gaol at Sandwich is a timber-framed building refronted in brick in the 17th century (Fig 1.14).[35] It lies beside the churchyard of St Peter's Church and is surrounded by similar-sized domestic buildings. The county gaol and house of correction at Aylesbury in the 18th century were on a plot behind the sessions house, which stands on the marketplace. Plans were drawn up in 1720 for a new prison and work began in 1722. Building works ceased after two years due to a lack of funds and the gaol and courthouse were not completed until 1740. Plans drawn up in 1817 show that the buildings were arranged around a series of yards (Fig 1.15). They appear to have been solidly built but were small and haphazard in plan. A plan of the city gaol at Worcester shows a long irregular plot extending back from Friar Street with two blocks on the street front that are labelled 'prison'.[36] The yard behind is the 'Felon's Yard' and beyond this there is a pair of gaolers' houses. Behind these houses was a debtors' yard and as no debtors' accommodation was specified it is likely that they were housed within one or both of the gaoler's houses.

The most common type of prison built in the 17th and 18th centuries was the lockup, a small secure building to detain disorderly individuals for short periods. Typically, it was a single room though some, such as those at Bradford-on-Avon (Wiltshire), Swaffham Prior (Cambridgeshire) or Burwell (Cambridgeshire), contained two small cells. Architecturally, lockups could be simple,

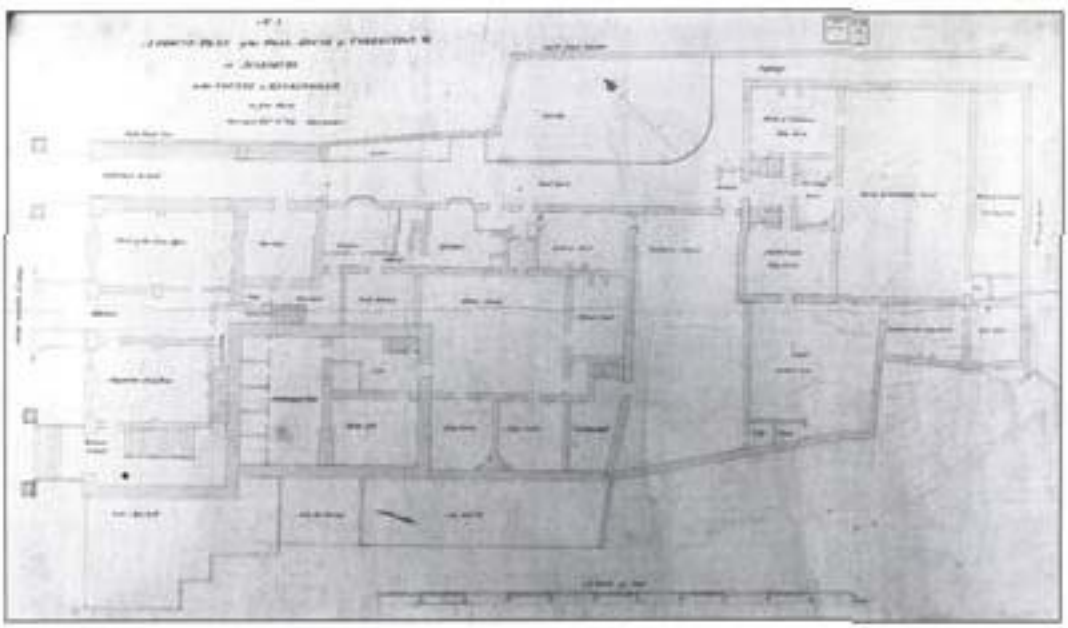


Figure 1.15
Plan of former county gaol, Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire. Work began in 1722 but was not completed until 1740. The buildings, designed by Thomas Harris, lie on a long narrow plot behind the sessions house, which is still in use. [From Bucks RO, Q/AG/36/1; BB96/01575]

Figure 1.16
Lockup in Wheatley, Oxfordshire. This lockup was built in 1834 by a Mr Cooper.
[AA98/10361]

secure, square blocks constructed of readily available local building materials. However, in some places they were treated as lavish centrepieces in the heart of the village and were circular or polygonal in plan. At Wheatley (Oxfordshire) there is a small pyramidal lockup while at Lingfield (Surrey) 'The Cage' was built in 1773 beside the 15th-century cross in the heart of the village (Figs 1.16 and 1.17). To prevent escape through the roof, some were built with elaborate stone domes and the result could be a highly decorative, pepper-pot appearance, as at Castle Cary (Somerset) or Box (Wiltshire) (Fig 1.18). In some lockups beds were included as part of the structure, as at Steeple Ashton (Wiltshire). The Bradford-on-Avon building is a rare example of a two-cell lockup on a bridge with iron bedsteads and, very unusually, a chimney (Fig 1.19).

Figure 1.17 (above, left) 'The Cage' in Lingfield, Surrey. This was built in 1773 beside the 15th-century cross. It provided a single cell suitable for holding one inmate overnight. [BB98/01131]

Figure 1.18 (above, right) Lockup in Box, Wiltshire. This small early 18th-century lockup in the centre of the village has a highly decorative stone roof that prevented inmates from escaping. [AA005803]

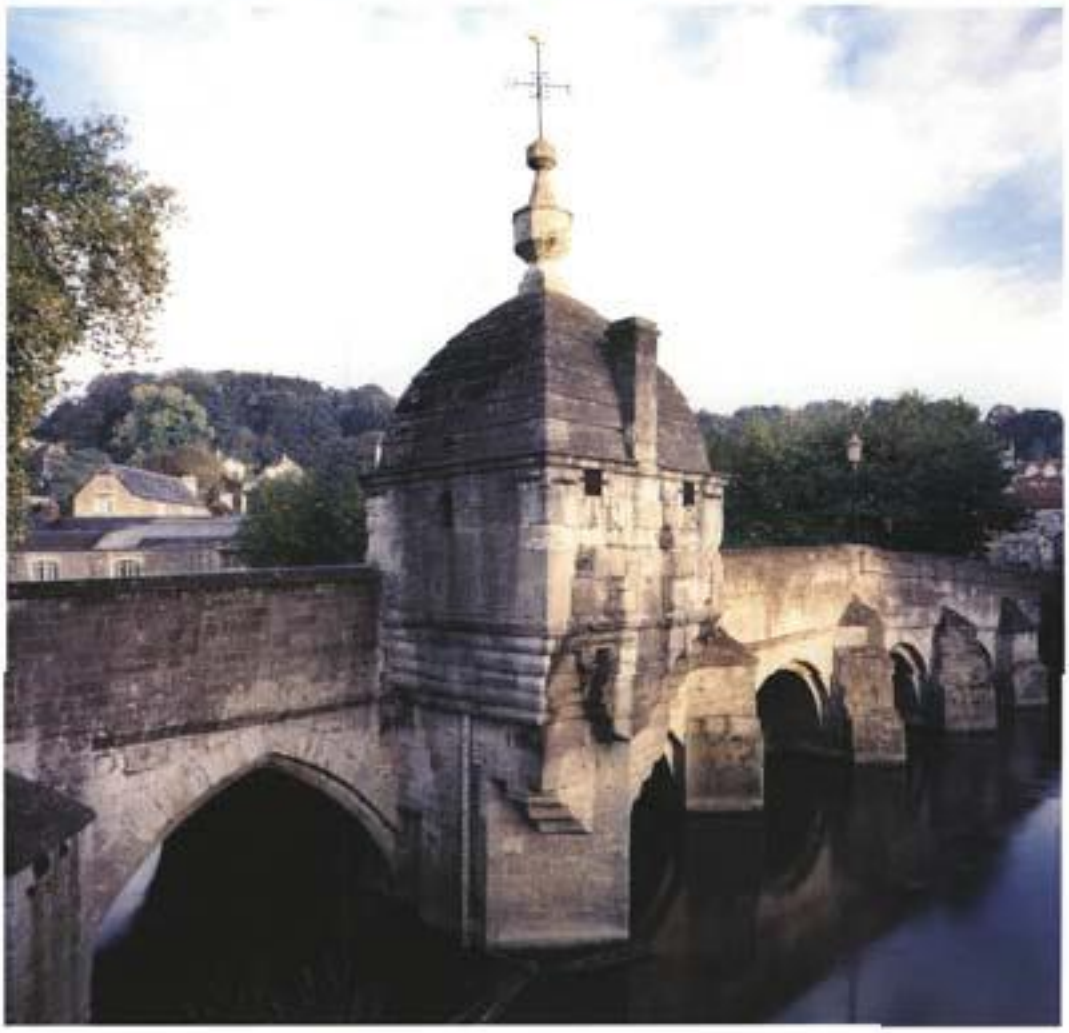


Figure 1.19 (right) Lockup on bridge, Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire. This bridge incorporates a 17th-century two-cell lockup. Local tradition states 'erroneously' that this was a chapel that was converted into a lockup, an error caused by its elaborate appearance. [BB007750]

By the middle of the 18th century the scale of new prisons was becoming larger as the general population of the country grew, although they were no more sophisticated in plan than their predecessors. In 1736 Parliament agreed to the erection of a new county gaol for the Western Division of Kent at Maidstone but it took ten years for the prison to be completed.[97] It had a street frontage 160ft (48.8m) long and the plot behind was 156ft (47.5m) deep. The centre part was the keeper's house while the pair of taller flanking wings held felons and debtors separately. In September 1770 the Corporation of Bath approved the design of a new prison by Thomas Warr Atwood that was needed because the old one was to be demolished to clear the approach to William Pulteney's proposed bridge to Bathwick (Fig 1.20).[98] The foundation stone was laid on 7 May 1772 and the building was completed by the end of 1773. The prison consisted of a three-storeyed front block above a full-height basement, with two wings running back from either end of the front range. The front block has survived though it has now been converted into flats. Its architectural style is similar to other large townhouses built in Bath at the same date. At the other end of the country, Westmorland County Gaol was also being rebuilt on a new site in Appleby (Cumbria) (Fig 1.21). It was designed by Robert Fothergill and completed in 1771. Like the gaol at Bath it is in an architectural style comparable to local domestic buildings, but in keeping with Westmorland's vernacular style it is a small, two-storeyed, double-pile house. Originally the gaol itself, it soon became the gaoler's house and later a police station, its current function.

The new gaols built during the third quarter of the 18th century were not only larger than their predecessors but also provided better accommodation. The house of correction at Wakefield (West Yorkshire) was founded in 1594 and between 1766 and 1770 was rebuilt to designs by John Carr.[99] It was an H-plan block with a long main range of seven bays with decorative blind arcades on the ground floor (Fig 1.22). The accommodation in the 1760s prison can be deduced from the plans prepared from about 1817 to 1819 for its enlargement (*see* Chapter 3). These show that the ground floor had two large rooms and a broad corridor in the central range with seventeen cells in each wing. The first floor had a similar number of cells in the wings while the central range was divided into cells flanking a passage with a stair in the centre of the range. The cells were probably created in 1786 when some original rooms were subdivided and a second block was added to the south of the site.

At Chelmsford the gaol had been in a former inn on the south side of the River Can since 1659 but by January 1768 a committee of the Quarter Sessions had condemned it as beyond repair and recommended a change of site. After considerable debate a new site at Moulsham was chosen and an Act of Parliament was passed in April 1770.[100] Although George Dance the younger had initially been involved in the selection of the site, it was a design by William Hillyer, County Surveyor for Essex, that was chosen in October 1770. Work did not commence until 1773 due to local disputes over the choice of site and the new prison was not completed until March 1776. It provided separate accommodation for debtors, felons and women in two square blocks at the rear of the site and in rooms arranged along the sides of the yard.[101] One of the blocks has thicker walls than the rest of the complex suggesting

Figure 1.20 (bottom, left) Former prison (Bath Old Gaol), Grove Street, Bath. This prison was built in 1772–3 by Thomas Warr Atwood to replace one that had to be demolished to allow the construction of Pulteney Bridge. Although on a small side street, the architect consciously imitated contemporary domestic buildings on the grandest streets of Bath. [BB97/06637]

Figure 1.21 (bottom, right) Former prison, Appleby-in-Westmorland, Cumbria. Robert Fothergill designed this prison in 1771 in a style reminiscent of local vernacular buildings. [BB97/12079]

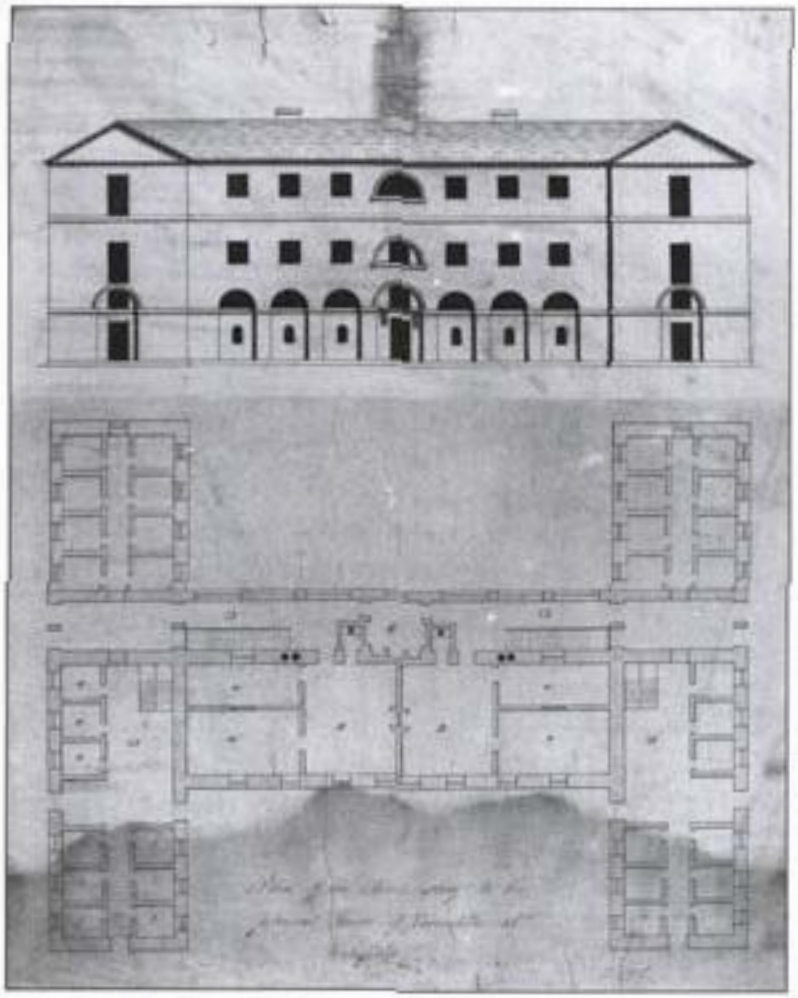


Figure 1.22
Plan of early house of correction, Wakefield, West Yorkshire. John Carr built this building between 1766 and 1770. It is reminiscent of contemporary public buildings such as hospitals, as Carr had no recent large prisons as exemplars for his design. [From W Yorks Archive Service (Wakefield), QD3/378, plan of 'stack' storey of House of Correction by John Carr, 1766; AA95/06059]

that an earlier building was reused. The accommodation was a mixture of small cells and larger rooms, and at the rear of the site there were a chapel, infirmary and beerhouse. Though the first two were to be key features of reformed prisons in the late 18th century, reformers frowned upon the presence of alcohol in a prison. The street front of the new prison was that of a neat modern public building but behind it the blocks were arranged haphazardly around a courtyard that may have been subdivided into three to accommodate each category separately.

The final and grandest prison built before the full impact of late 18th-century penal reform was Newgate in London (Figs 1.23 and 1.24). Like Moulsham it had a dignified public face behind which felons, debtors and female inmates were incarcerated separately, but Newgate was on a huge scale, *comparable with contemporary hospitals* rather than prisons. It was so large because of the population that it had to *serve, acting both as a gaol for the City of* London and as a national prison. This new building was the last in a series built on the same site. The previous one was refronted in 1630–1 and after being damaged by the Great Fire of London it was patched up and repaired or rebuilt by Robert Hooke in 1672. In 1726 the City of London acquired two houses beside the south side of the gatehouse and used this site, known as the Press Yard, to build cells for condemned prisoners. By the 1750s the need for improvements to the prison was recognised and in 1752 Dr Hales installed an air-ventilator system, driven by a windmill on the roof of the building.[102] In 1755 the City decided to rebuild the prison but this scheme was dropped in 1757 when the Government refused to contribute money. However, three architects had already prepared designs. George Dance senior envisaged a prison with three courtyards and incorporated a wide gate for Newgate Street.[103] The sessions house was to be separated from the prison by a yard. The buildings had no windows to the street, all light and ventilation coming from the courtyards. William Jones proposed a scheme with a similar plan. He also envisaged the retention of a gate within the complex, but allowed small slit windows in the external elevations, in keeping with its castellated style. A third scheme by Isaac Ware of 1755 does not survive.

A fire led to the rebuilding of the Press Yard in 1762 and in 1767 the overall reconstruction scheme was revived when George *Dance* senior was appointed as the surveyor. Due to his ill health his son, George Dance junior, succeeded him as surveyor in February 1769. The plans of the new scheme survive and John Howard published the ground-floor plan in the first edition of *The State of the Prisons* in 1777. It was similar in concept to Dance's earlier proposal in that both schemes intended to incorporate the Press Yard cells and envisaged grouping the accommodation around three courtyards. However, the later plan removed the need to incorporate a gate in the building by moving the site of the prison to the south. The early plan was more cellular than the later one but the 1769 plan placed more emphasis on facilities such as the chapel and kitchen. Both schemes used heavy *classical forms and omitted any sort of* windows in the outside elevations.

Figure 1.23
Newgate, London. Photograph taken prior to start of demolition in August 1902. 'Newgate! Whoever knows London knows Newgate. Once seen, it is not a place very likely to be forgotten. Inside and outside it is equally striking. Massive, dark, and solemn, it arrests the eye, and holds it.' [From Hepworth Dixon 1850, 191; DD39/67]

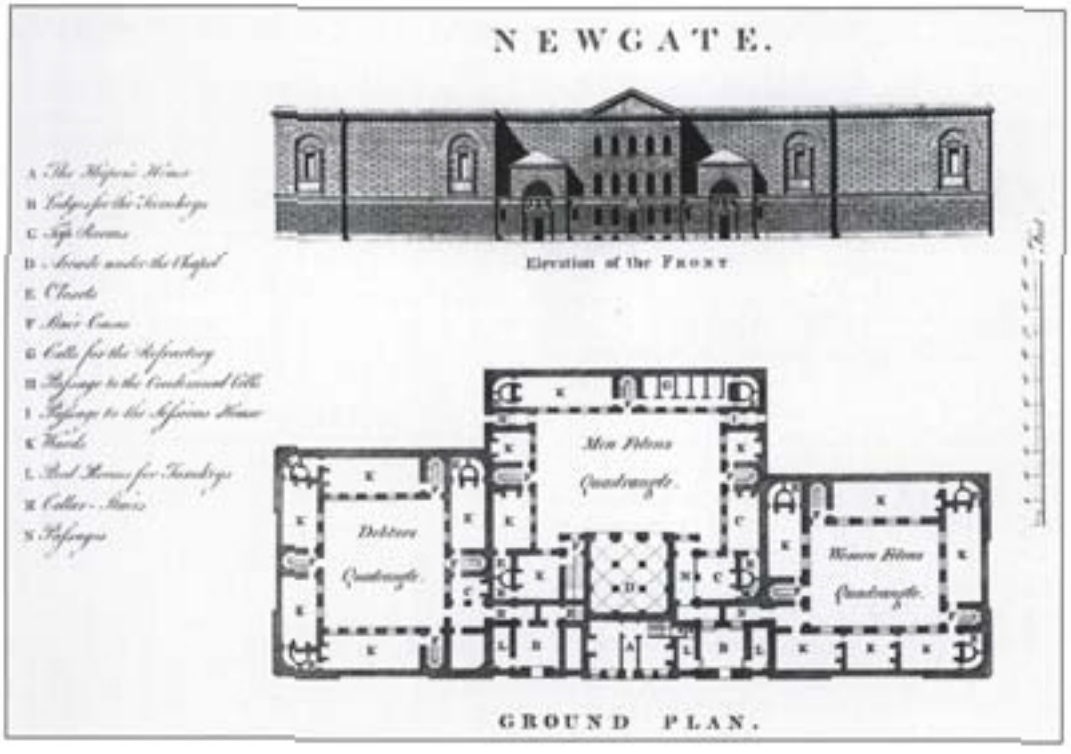


Figure 1.24 Newgate, London. The three-courtyard plan allowed a compact design on a small site. However, it restricted the extent to which inmates could be separated and the interiors were poorly lit and ventilated. [From Howard 1777; BB013008]

The foundation stone of the new prison was laid on 31 May 1770, the sessions house was completed by 1774, and the whole complex was finished by 1780. On 6 June 1780 the Gordon Rioters attacked Newgate to liberate captured comrades, resulting in serious damage. The prison had been expected to cost £50,000, but £52,000 had been spent by 1778 when Parliament granted a further £40,000. The riot damage led to an extra £30,000 being spent, an indication of the severity of the incident. *Repairs were completed* in 1783, when public executions were transferred from Tyburn to Newgate.[104]

Although Newgate was a monumental architectural presence in the City of London, its plan was very backward in terms of penal reform. Designed in 1769, but using ideas equally appropriate to prisons of twenty years earlier, it suffered from being conceived before the reforming ideas of the mid-1770s had been absorbed. Although inmates were broadly separated by category, the provision of a series of large rooms around yards allowed only limited segregation. Ventilation and light were restricted due to the absence of openings in the outside elevations of the buildings, while the buildings all being grouped together further inhibited the flow of air.

John Howard said of the new prison that 'Many inconveniences of the old Gaol are avoided in this new one: but it has some manifest errors'.[105] He was to spend the last years of his life trying to correct these errors and to establish new standards for the design of prison buildings and the treatment of prisoners. Although he was not the first writer to offer ideas for improving prisons, he was the first to provide quantifiable, systematic evidence of the problems and practical solutions.

2
Prisons in the Late Eighteenth Century

Early prison reformers

In the century before Howard's work a series of publications, reports and inquiries described the conditions in prison, though it was rare that any practical action resulted. Moses Pitt published a pamphlet, *The Cry of the Oppressed,* in 1691 in which he described the use of heavy irons, starvation and poor hygiene in the Fleet Prison.[1] In 1702 Dr Thomas Bray, one of the founders of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), published *An Essay Towards ye Reformation of Newgate and Other Prisons in and about London.*[2] He found that Newgate was a den of iniquity in which there was no separation between male and female inmates, and between old incorrigible prisoners and new arrivals. Prisoners were swearing, gaming and blaspheming, and there was unlimited access to strong liquor. Religious worship was neglected and staff connived with the inmates rather than controlled them. As well as describing the conditions he suggested ways in which Newgate and prisons in general could be reformed. He recommended that a better type of person should be appointed as the gaoler and a minister should also be provided. Both should be salaried, with fees only being levied from inmates for special lodgings, diets or allowances. Clergymen should be 'sober pious Divines' and should be 'by no means of the younger sort'. All prisoners were to pray daily, and sermons were to be preached twice on every Sunday. Officers were to be accountable to the gaoler and they were to prevent swearing and blaspheming and control the availability of strong liquor. Men and women were to be separated, and he favoured the provision of single cells, similar to those at Bethlem Hospital.

In 1727 Bray was involved with relief work at Whitechapel Gaol and during the 1720s he forged links with James Edward Oglethorpe, who had become aware of conditions in the Fleet where a friend was imprisoned for debt. Unable to pay the required fees he had been confined in a house where smallpox was raging. A Select Committee was established to examine conditions at the Fleet and Marshalsea and although the gaoler, Bambridge, and some of his subordinates were dismissed there was no general improvement in conditions.[3] William Hay, who introduced unsuccessful bills to improve poor relief in March 1736 and February 1737, also proposed reforms of local gaols and bridewells. In 1753 Oglethorpe lobbied for another committee to investigate the King's Bench and in the 1750s there was some amelioration in the conditions for debtors. Henry Fielding became a JP for Middlesex and Westminster in 1748 and this prompted his interest in both criminal law and poor-law reform.[4] In 1753, in conjunction with the architect Thomas Gibson, he produced a plan for a combined prison, house of correction and workhouse in which 3,000 male paupers, 2,000 female paupers and 1,000 convicts could be accommodated.[5] It consisted of a series of courtyards surrounded by narrow blocks with tall ground-floor arcades, similar to other types of public building (Fig 2.1).

Fielding and Gibson may have had a grand scheme, but Jonas Hanway had a vision that was actually realised. Prostitution was a major problem in 18th-century London with an estimated 3,000 women at work and 3,000 deaths per year from venereal disease. In 1750 Robert Dingley proposed that Hanway join him in founding a magdalen house, but Hanway only agreed to support the idea in 1758. They rented a house in Prescot Street, Goodman's Fields, and received the first eight women on 10 August 1758. By 31 March 1761 there were ninety-eight women in the house and by 1786, 2,415 women had passed through it. Only a small proportion of these women returned to the streets. The regime was frugal and the women were to spend their

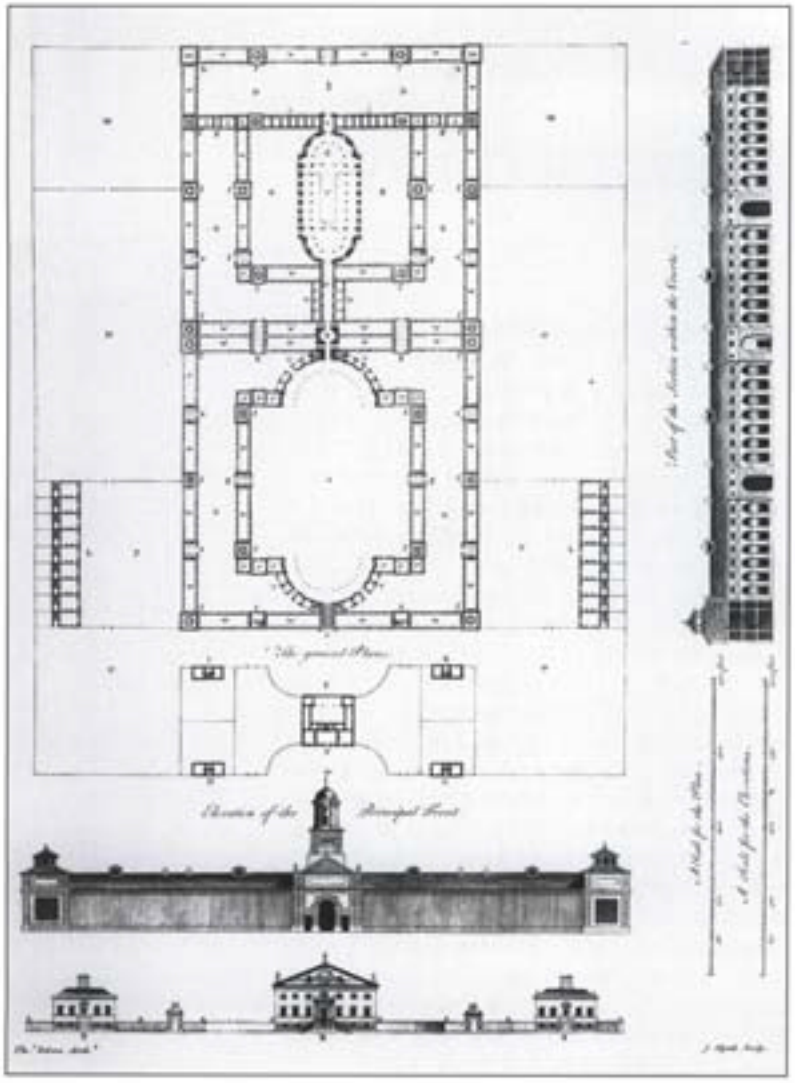


Figure 2.1
Plan for a county house for Middlesex, Thomas Gibson. Gibson's scheme was to house 5,000 paupers and 1,000 convicts. Even the largest modern prisons house only 1,500 prisoners and this institution was never built. [From Fielding 1753; by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library]

time working or in religious reflection.[6] In 1776 Hanway published *Solitude in Imprisonment* in which he expanded his ideas on the role of religious contemplation in reforming prisoners. He favoured absolute solitude, extending this even to the chapel, which was to have a series of single stalls. In promoting absolute solitude he was following ideas that Bishop Joseph Butler had put forward as early as 1740.[7] Howard recommended separation by night and limited association by day, and most prisons followed this congregate system in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. However, it was Hanway's ideas that were to be revived in the Third Report of the Prison Inspectors that propagated the separate system.[8] This system was adopted in the model prison at Pentonville in 1842 and although Hanway would not have recognised its architecture, he would have seen his ideas reflected in the strict solitude and silence of the prison.

Although Hanway was to be highly influential in the 1830s, it was 'the judicious marquis', Cesare Beccaria, who had a more immediate impact.[9] In 1764 he published *dei Delitti e delle Pene*, which was translated into English in 1767 as *On Crimes and Punishments*. At the heart of his argument was his support for using punishments to reduce crime and making them selective and proportional to the offence. The deterrent value lay in the certainty that the criminal would suffer a punishment, as much as its harshness. Punishments should affect the mind rather than the body, and for maximum effect they should be exacted as soon as possible after the crime. He opposed torture as the confessions obtained through it were unreliable, but he favoured corporal punishment for assaults. However, he did not support capital punishment as he believed that it only provided an example of savagery, though he accepted that it might be used for criminals who were a threat to society.[10] Beccaria had a clear influence on writers such as William Blackstone and William Eden. Blackstone was the author of the *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, which was published in four volumes between 1765 and 1769. He believed that punishment should be employed to prevent repetition of a crime and to reform the offender.[11] Eden, the author of *Principles of Criminal Law* in 1772, opposed capital punishment as the centrepiece of the legal system, and favoured punishment based on public works. He also rejected imprisonment, as he believed that it corrupted the inmates.[12] Beccaria also had a major impact on John Howard, both directly and through his influence on other writers, though his only reference to prison was regarding its use for detaining prisoners before trial.[13] However, Beccaria's greatest achievement was in changing the climate of the debate regarding crime and punishment, and it was within this new enlightened atmosphere that Howard's reforming ideas could have an impact.

John Howard

John Howard, born 2 September 1726, was the son of a partner in an upholstery and carpet business in London who also owned property at Enfield and Lower Clapton and at Cardington (Bedfordshire) (Fig 2.2).

His mother died when he was 5 years old and although he was frail as a child he was sent away to school in Hertford. Around 1739 he went to Dr Eames's Fund Academy, a dissenting college in London, but by 1741 his father had arranged for him to be apprenticed to a grocer. On his father's death in 1742 he bought out his indentures and after renovating his house in Clapton he went on a 2-year-long grand tour. After his return in 1748 he moved to Stoke Newington and around 1750 he took up lodgings in the house of Mrs Sarah Lardeau (or Loidoire), whom he married on 15 October 1753. Following her death on 10 November 1755 he travelled to Portugal in January 1756 but en route was captured by a French privateer. After a short period in prison, and two months on parole in a house in France, he returned to England in exchange for a French officer. On his return to England he resided at Cardington, where he met Henrietta Leeds and married her on 25 April 1758. When she fell ill, they moved for three years to the New Forest but by 1762 they had returned to Cardington. Howard's son, also John, was born on 27 March 1765 but Henrietta died four days later. In the 1760s he built cottages, provided schooling and work for the inhabitants of the village but with his election to the office of High Sheriff of Bedfordshire in 1773 his life changed forever.[14]

As Sheriff, he was responsible for the management of the county gaol. He discovered that prisoners were being detained after being found innocent or after completing their sentence until they paid a discharge fee.[15] Therefore he applied to the Justices to appoint a salaried gaoler to allow the abolition of fees, but they insisted that he provide a precedent for this. In search of one he visited neighbouring counties where he discovered 'scenes of calamity, which I grew daily more and more anxious to alleviate'. By 4 March 1774, when he attended the House of Commons to give evidence in support of legislation being introduced by Alexander Popham, MP for Taunton, he had already visited many parts of England. The result was two Acts of Parliament. The Discharged Prisoners Act 1774 abolished discharge fees and substituted payments from the rates, up to a maximum of 13s 4d for each inmate released.[16] The Health of Prisoners Act 1774 was the first concerted attempt at improving the physical conditions of prisons, although it was frequently ignored.[17] It ordered that the walls and ceilings of cells and wards should be scraped and whitewashed once a year. They were to be regularly washed and constantly supplied with air by means of hand ventilators. Separate rooms were to be provided for sick prisoners and baths were to be introduced into prisons. An experienced surgeon or apothecary was to be appointed and all the provisions of the Act were to be painted on a board to be hung in a conspicuous part of each prison.

Although Howard could have ceased his journeys, content with his immediate impact on legislation, he continued to travel throughout England and Ireland until March 1775, when he went on his first visit to European prisons. In total he made seven journeys around Europe reaching as far as Moscow, Constantinople, Lisbon and Malta and between these longer trips he continued to visit British prisons. The result of these journeys was published in 1777 as *The State of the Prisons*, and revised editions appeared in 1780, 1784 and 1791. The appendix was published in 1780 and 1784, while his *An Account of the Principal Lazarettos in Europe* was published in 1789 and 1791. Although published in Howard's name alone, his books seem to have been the result of co-operation with a number of colleagues. His notes appear to have been corrected and organised by a friend, possibly Richard Denshaw, who had been a fellow pupil at Dr Eames's academy, while another former pupil, Dr Richard Price, may have assisted with the tables and statistics. The choice of Mr Eyres at Warrington as his publisher may have been due to his

Figure 2.2
Bust of John Howard on the gate of HMP Shrewsbury, Shropshire. 1787–93. John Hiram Haycock. [AA97/07038]

proximity to another friend and his earliest biographer, Dr John Aikin, who helped Howard with the final editing of the text.[18]

Howard's last journey began on 7 July 1789, a week before the storming of the Bastille, a building he had visited a few years before. He travelled along the Baltic coast to St Petersburg and Moscow. By January 1790 *he had moved on to Kherson, near the* Crimea, where he died on 20 January 1790 of camp fever (typhus) the same disease that he had previously proved resistant to throughout his hundreds of visits to prisons.

Howard's reputation was considerable by the time of his death and his loss was widely and deeply felt. A measure of this is that the commemorative statue by John Bacon RA, unveiled on 23 February 1796 in St Paul's, was the first ever admitted into the cathedral and the announcement of his death in the *London Gazette* was a unique honour for a civilian (Fig 2.3).[19] Four years before his death, while on his sixth European voyage, a scheme for a monument in his honour was suggested without his knowledge and by 22 November 1786 £1,418 17s 6d had been raised.[20] Throughout 1786 the pages of the *Gentleman's Magazine* contained letters paying tribute to Howard and offering subscriptions towards the monument. Angulus wrote in May that he was a 'Consumate [sic] Philanthropist who has so fully demonstrated, that indeed nothing human is alien from him'.[21] An even more enthusiastic anonymous correspondent writing on 19 July described Howard as a 'Friend to Nature' and provided a table to show how he fitted into humanity:

Scale of Beings, or of Merit
GOD:
Friend to Nature:
Tyrannicide:
Man of Honour:
Honest Man:
PLAIN LABOURER:
Knave Secular:
Saint:
Statesman
Hero:
DEVIL.[22]

Although a number of the contributors to the monument fund wished to remain anonymous, many recorded their appreciation, including some JPs whom Howard had inspired to rebuild their prisons. Sir Thomas Beevor from Norfolk wrote to the editor on 14 June 1786 while a letter from John Call of Cornwall offering 5 guineas was published in August 1786.[23] Other enthusiastic contributors included Sir Robert Taylor and James Neild, and Dr Lettsom, who contributed 10 guineas. Howard objected to the idea of a monument and the money was not spent until after his death when it met part of the cost of the St Paul's statue. Bacon was also *responsible for another monument to* Howard, the small bust in the gable of the gatehouse at HMP Shrewsbury (*see* Fig 2.2).[24]

Figure 2.3 (opposite) Statue of John Howard in St Paul's Cathedral by John Bacon. 1796. [Warburg Institute 133]

Howard's ideas on prisons

John Howard's *The State of the Prisons* systematically documented the conditions in England's prisons for the first time, and the comprehensive, detailed nature of his work provided irrefutable evidence for the need for reforms. His book contained a section entitled 'Proposed Improvements in the Structure and Management of Prisons' that Members of Parliament (MPs) and JPs could use as a guide for reforming prisons. He advocated that the site should be airy, perhaps on a hill, but with a nearby river or brook that would not flood the site. The gaoler should be a good and sober man who lived in the prison and was constantly at home. Like the gaoler, the chaplain and surgeon should receive a salary as fees would be abolished. To explain his architectural ideas Howard provided 'A Plan for a County Gaol' (Fig 2.4). It included a series of square or

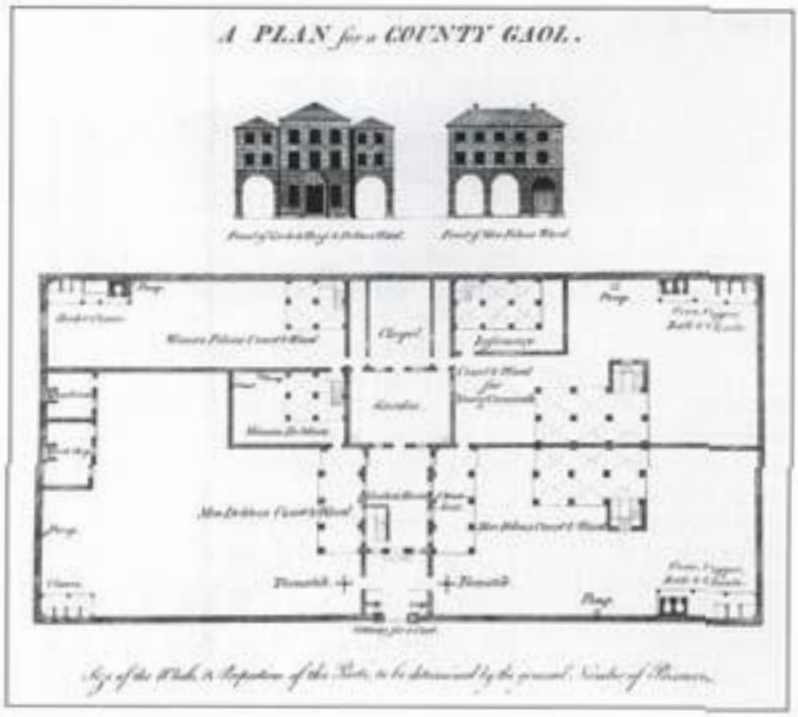


Figure 2.4 'Plan for a County Gaol'. This plan became highly influential as soon as it was published. It inspired the building of a number of new county gaols until the late 1780s. [From Howard 1777; BB013009]

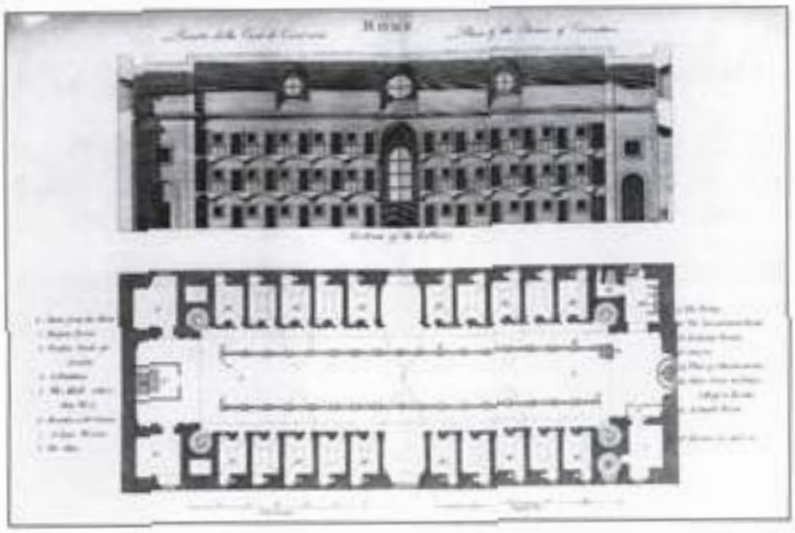


Figure 2.5
Plan and section of house of correction at the Ospedale San Michele in Rome. The similarity to Victorian prisons with their open landings made this the most celebrated illustration in Howard's book. However, it had no immediate impact on English prison architecture. [From Howard 1784; by permission of the British Library 710 L 24]

rectangular blocks containing accommodation for male and female felons, male debtors and young criminals. Each category of inmate had his or her own yard. At the heart of the complex was the gaoler's house, which also contained accommodation for male debtors. Male felons and young criminals shared a single block that was subdivided by a central wall. At the rear of the site were an infirmary and chapel. All the buildings, except the chapel and the central part of the block that contained the gaoler's house, had vaulted open arcades on the ground floor. These served as an exercise area in wet weather and improved the circulation of air. The blocks illustrated beside the plan had two storeys of sleeping cells above the arcades. The buildings were to be fireproofed with vaulted cells and every inmate was to have a separate sleeping cell. Each prison should have paved yards for ease of cleansing and large baths and ovens for sterilising clothing should also be provided. Inmates were to have clean shirts twice a week and materials were to be provided to keep the prison clean. Sewers were to be located beneath the courts, not the buildings and 'No stable, hogcote or dunghill should be suffered in the court'. He recommended an appropriate diet for inmates and advocated the elimination of fighting, quarrelling, gaming, liquor and abusive language.[25] In a plea to those who would read his book, Howard stated that 'I am not an advocate for an extravagant and profuse allowance to prisoners. I plead only for necessaries'.[26]

At the heart of Howard's ideas was the belief that each inmate should have their own sleeping cell. Precedents for cellular accommodation existed both in England and on the Continent. Cells were included in some early prisons to hold small numbers of inmates who had to be separate from the rest of the population, particularly condemned prisoners. At Newgate, the condemned cells in the Press Yard were rebuilt in 1762. Cells had also been a feature of Carthusian charterhouses and had been adopted in some almshouses by the 17th century.[27] Robert Hooke designed the new Bethlem Hospital (1675–6) to

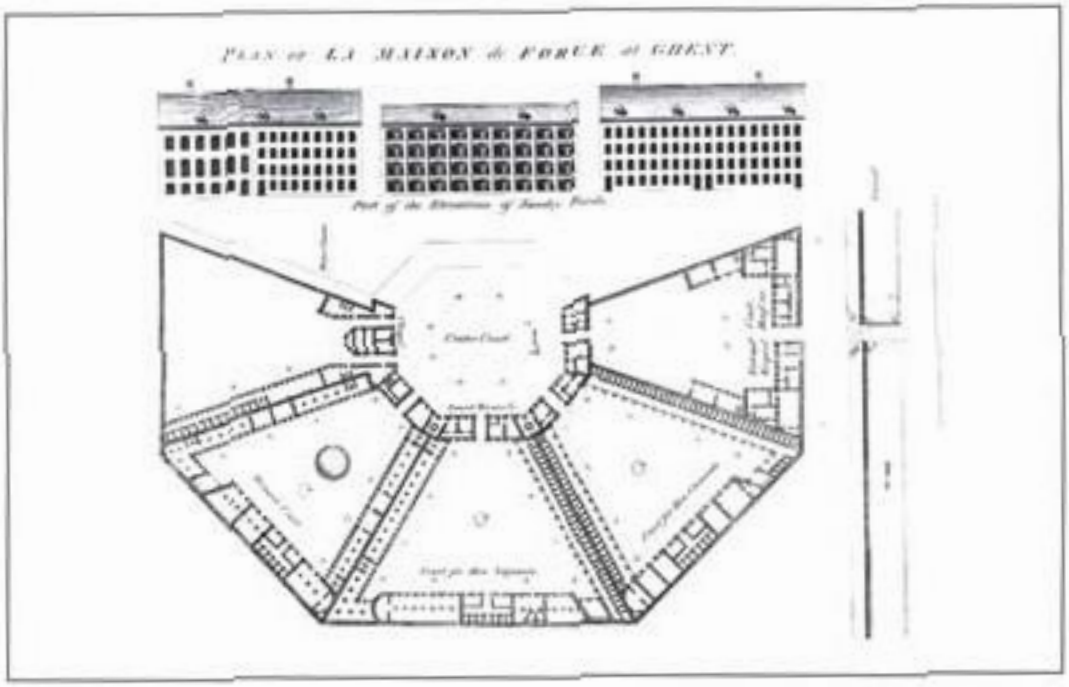


Figure 2.6
La Maison de Force at Ghent. This institution was the first fully cellular prison that Howard visited, although he may have seen similar arrangements in English lunatic asylums. [From Howard 1777; BB013010]

accommodate 120 patients in blocks that comprised galleries from which a line of cells opened.[28] The cells measured 12ft 6in. by 8ft (3.8 × 2.4m) and were lit by small, unglazed windows, set high in the walls. Most inmates remained in their cells day and night, and only a few of them were allowed 'the liberty of the gallery'. St Luke's Hospital for Lunatics in London, which was established in 1750, had a similar arrangement of cells.

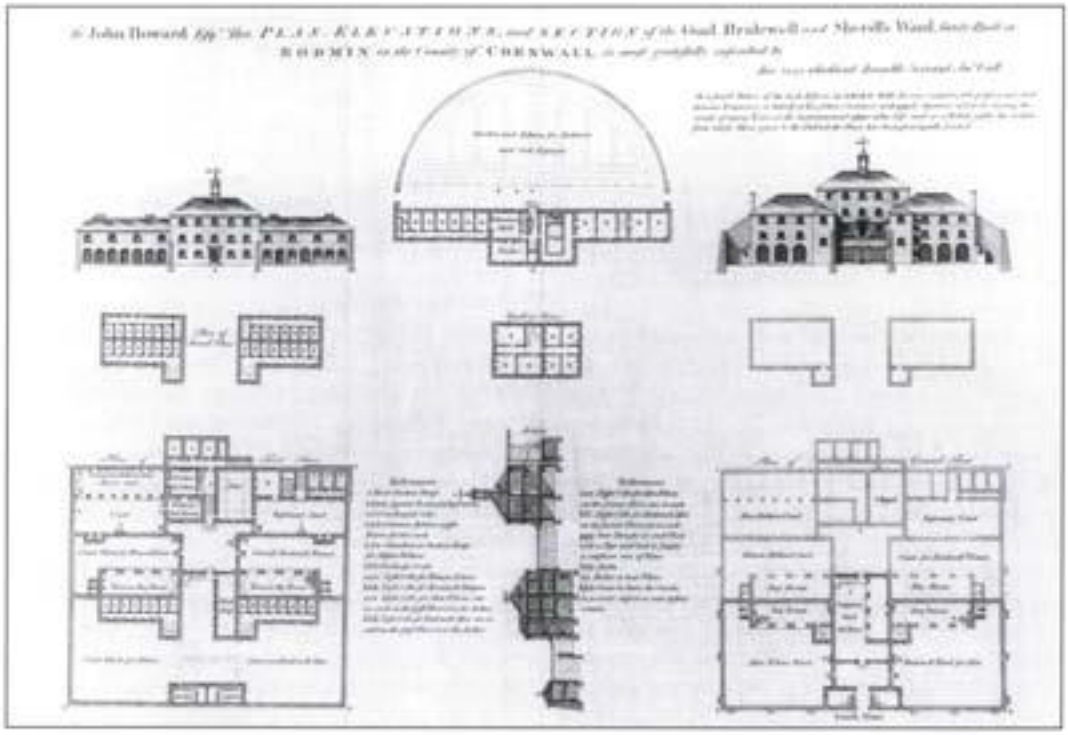
Systematic cellular accommodation was first adopted in prison designs on the Continent during the 18th century. Boys in the house of correction in the celebrated Ospedale San Michele in Rome, dedicated in 1704, were held in separate cells flanking a central corridor that was open from the floor to the roof (Fig 2.5).[29] This building has obvious echoes in the great Victorian prisons, but it had little influence on the architecture of Howard's day. He did not visit Rome until 1778, after the appearance of the first edition of *The State of the Prisons*, and therefore had no personal experience of it when drafting his book. Shortly after visiting Rome he visited Milan where he saw La Casa di Correzione being built which also included cells in its plan. In 1775 Howard had visited Ghent where he saw a prison with systematic cellular accommodation for the first time at the Maison de Force (Fig 2.6).[30]

Horsham, Bodmin and gentlemen architects

Howard's impact on prison reform did not have to wait for the appearance of the first edition of *The State of the Prisons* in 1777. In 1775 the 3rd Duke of Richmond had begun to oversee the reconstruction of the county gaol at Horsham (West Sussex), the first purpose-built fully cellular prison erected in Britain. Regrettably, it was demolished in 1845 and original design drawings do not appear to survive.[31] However, orders of the committee responsible for building the prison give a clear idea about its construction. There are also two later plans of the prison, one of which was prepared as part of a programme to enlarge it.[32]

The first entry in the Order Book dates from 2 October 1775 by which time the outline and many details of the project had been prepared. The prison building was to be 132ft (40.2m) long and 32ft (9.8m) wide. It was to be detached from any other buildings and would be set within a series of yards. A 20ft-high (6.1m) perimeter wall would surround the whole site and a separate building would contain a chapel, infirmary and gaoler's accommodation. The site, on the north side of East Street, had been identified and the Duke of Richmond had already prepared the design. William Ride, the duke's surveyor, was assigned £21 1s to draw up the plans and the description of the design. Thomas and Edward Griffiths were to receive £3,560 for the building work. Work on Horsham County Gaol continued until 2 August 1779 when the Sheriff of the county was ordered to take possession of it and new rules were established. The gaoler was to be paid £100 per year and received a house and garden in exchange for a bond with a penalty of £200. The gaoler had to appoint turnkeys and to guarantee that no fewer than two were always on duty. Staff were forbidden to sell goods to inmates and turnkeys had to sleep in rooms provided in the prison. Debtors and felons were separated and women originally occupied the debtors' end of the prison. In the felons' wing serious criminals were to be held on a different floor from more minor offenders. All inmates were to be kept separate at night, each being provided with a sleeping cell that measured 10ft by 7ft by 9ft high (3.1 × 2.1 × 2.7m).[33] The ground floor of the prison consisted of open vaulted arcades that acted as dayrooms and workshops. In total forty inmates could be housed in the prison.

A gentleman also designed another early prison inspired by Howard. In 1779 John Call published a copy of his design for Bodmin County Gaol in Cornwall, which he dedicated to John Howard (Fig 2.7). He claimed that the gaol was 'Designed by & Executed under the Direction of John Call Esq. one of the Justices of the County *1779*'. However, a copy of an indenture dated 1 November 1777 reveals that the 'architects' were Philip Stowey and Thomas Jones of Exeter.[34] Call is listed as one of the magistrates who was making the contract with them. They were to be paid £5,165 for the work, a sum implying that they were to erect the building. Call served as a military engineer in India from 1750 to 1769. He returned to England in 1770, married Philadelphia Battie in 1772 and undertook the reconstruction of Whiteford House at Callington, Cornwall, in about 1775. Photographs taken before its demolition in



2.7 Plan of Bodmin County Gaol by John Call, 1779. Call dedicated his plan to Howard and his debt to Howard's ideal plan for a county gaol (see Fig 2.4) is obvious. [By permission of the British Library K Top 9.32.1]

1913 show that it was a medium-size house, suitable for a fashionable provincial gentleman. With his engineering background there is no reason to doubt that he may have been the architect of his house and Bodmin County Gaol, at least in an amateur sense. Stowey and Jones probably added detail and executed the work at Bodmin, apparently the arrangement that occurred at Horsham.

An Act of Parliament was passed in 1778 to establish the new prison at Bodmin.[35] The Government provided £5,000 for the construction while JPs were empowered to raise a further £6,000. The Duke of Cornwall was exempted from paying any tax for this project, but not his tenants. The prison closely resembled Howard's idealised plan for a county gaol. Both had open ground-floor arcades designed to be used as workrooms and both contained a chapel, an infirmary and accommodation for the governor near the heart of the complex. The major advances in Bodmin's design over Howard's plan are in its symmetry and in the related compactness of the design. The yards were smaller and the cell blocks larger, allowing more inmates to be held in the available area. The greatest difficulty at Bodmin was constructing a regular design on the side of a relatively steep hill. In the 1784 edition of *The State of the Prisons* Howard stated that he was impressed with the new prison. The gaoler's house contained the chapel, and on top of the building there were a clock and an alarm bell. Each prisoner had his or her own cell, measuring 8ft 2in. by 5ft 8in. and 7ft 6in. high (2.4 × 1.7 × 2.3m), and the cells each had a sink. The laws against alcohol were observed and the prison was said to be healthy and clean.

The National Penitentiary

Although Howard had an immediate impact in Sussex and Cornwall, there was a desire for a national solution to the problems that he had encountered, problems exacerbated by the cessation of transportation. Under the Criminal Law Act 1776 felons who would have been transported to America could instead be sent to the hulks on the Thames or to houses of correction.[36] By 1778 it was clear that transportation would not resume in the immediate future, and William Blackstone and William Eden drafted the Hard Labour Bill to create a series of nineteen 'hard labour houses' for groups of counties, ranging in size from 50 to 900 convicts.[37] This bill failed but a modified measure providing for the creation of a pair of penitentiaries for male and female inmates was passed in 1779.[38] This Act

aimed to use a combination of solitary confinement at night, hard labour and religious instruction to reform inmates and to inculcate in them the habits of industry. Penitentiaries were to be created for 600 men and 300 women, under the control of salaried staff. Prisoners would sleep in heated single cells measuring a maximum of 12ft by 8ft by 11ft high (3.7 × 2.4 × 3.6m) and a minimum of 10ft by 7ft by 9ft (3.1 × 2.1 × 2.7m). During the day they were expected to carry out work 'of the hardest and most servile Kind, in which Drudgery is chiefly required ... such as treading in a wheel, or drawing in a Capstern, for turning a Mill or other Machine or Engine, sawing Stone, polishing Marble, beating Hemp, rasping Logwood, chopping Rags, making Cordage'. A small part of the earnings from this labour was to be for the benefit of the inmate or their family. Prisoners were to associate only during labour, divine service, mealtimes and during exercise in 'large and airy yards'. Besides the cell blocks, there were to be storehouses, warehouses, workhouses, lodging rooms, an infirmary, a chapel and a burial ground. Until the penitentiaries were completed, felons who would have been transported would continue to do hard labour in the hulks or in houses of correction.

Although the Act gives considerable detail about the penitentiaries, no site had been identified for them and there was no architectural design for the buildings. The responsibility for translating the legislation into reality was vested in a committee of three supervisors, John Howard, John Fothergill MD and George Whately.[39] Howard and Fothergill favoured a site in Islington while Whately preferred one at Limehouse.[40] Following the death of Fothergill and the resignation of Howard, a new committee consisting of Sir Gilbert Eliot, Sir Thomas Charles Bunbury and Thomas Bowdler MD was appointed on 2 March 1781. They examined a site at Wandsworth Field for the male penitentiary but this was rejected in favour of both prisons being on a single 82-acre (33.2-hectare) site at Battersea Rise. A competition for designs for the new prisons was arranged and by 1 January 1782, sixty-three entries had been received.

The results of the competition were announced on 23 March 1782. William Blackburn won the £100 prize for his design for the male prison while Thomas Leverton came second and won £60. Thomas Hardwick won £60 for his scheme for the female prison, with George Richardson winning the second prize of £30. The designs of Blackburn and Hardwick were passed to the Lord Chancellor's Office and approved on 18 June 1782. The committee received building tenders in August and these were sent to the Treasury at the end of September. The male prison was to cost £149,982 and the female £60,370. The Treasury was reluctant to fund them. After two rejections of the original schemes, the supervising committee requested that reduced estimates be prepared. On 12 February 1783 the revised estimates were presented to Parliament. The cost of the male prison had been reduced by £30,165 and the female one by £14,960. It was expected to take five years to complete the two prisons and work was to commence in May 1784. By September 1785, 200 convicts were to be living on the site, working on the construction of the rest of the prison and each year a further 200 inmates were to be added.

Work did not begin in 1784 and despite efforts to revive the idea in the 1790s, it took until the construction of Millbank in the early 19th century (*see* Chapter 3) for a national penitentiary to be realised. However, the Penitentiary Act did affect the future development of prisons. It established a regime based on separate sleeping cells with limited association during the day, the system employed in most prisons until the 1840s. It described the central role of labour and religion in the reformation and deterrence of inmates. It also led to a number of penitentiaries in counties and through the architectural competition it introduced William Blackburn as the leading architect of penal architecture. Although the buildings were never erected, the Act provided the most comprehensive statement of the ideas that Howard and other reformers had campaigned for in the 1770s, ideas that were to be adopted at a local level in the 1780s. Howard had resigned from the committee supervising the penitentiaries but he became involved with local prison-construction projects all over England, frequently in conjunction with Blackburn. These two men were to help establish a reformed prison system in most parts of England and were to be involved with many reconstruction programmes until their deaths in 1790.

Local initiatives

Although a few counties had begun to rebuild their prisons during the 1770s, most *local initiatives were delayed until the second* half of the 1780s. This was partly due to a continuing belief that transportation would resume and partly because of an expectation that the penitentiaries would provide a central government solution to crime that would not burden the local ratepayers. In the early 1780s there was an upsurge in crime caused by rising unemployment, trade depression, demobilised soldiers, a rise in food prices and a decline in wages.[41] By the autumn of 1784 the Home Secretary had recognised that: 'The great Number of Felons under sentence of Transportation, who are now in confinement in this Kingdom, have rendered the condition of the Gaols extremely alarming. ... All our gaols are overglutted ... and half the British navy, converted into justitia galleys, would scarce suffice to contain all our English penitents.'[42]

The Transportation Act was passed in 1784 although the Government had no suitable site for transportees until Botany Bay was chosen in 1786.[43] However, it also recognised that part of the solution was to develop improved and enlarged houses of correction and county gaols at home. In 1781 Thomas Gilbert published his *Plan for the Better Relief and Employment of the Poor* which advocated that JPs should investigate their bridewells, and replace those that proved unsuitable.[44] He translated his ideas into bills for regulating workhouses and houses of correction. His Relief of the Poor Bill, which he regarded as a 'temporary expedient', passed into law in 1782. It allowed neighbouring parishes to group together for poor-law purposes and to set up a poor house under a board of guardians. The able-bodied who were willing to work were to be employed by the parish outside the workhouse; those unwilling to work were to be punished, if necessary in a house of correction. His bill on houses of correction was first introduced into the House of Commons on 1 June 1781. After redrafting in December 1781, it finally received its royal assent on 1 July 1782.[45] It required the Quarter Sessions to appoint one or more Justices to inspect their houses of correction and recommend how they could be altered or rebuilt to improve them. They were to furnish them and provide looms, mills, and other tools to enforce hard labour. Half the profits were to be given to the inmates on their discharge and the keeper was to receive a salary and a share of the earnings. A second Act introduced by Gilbert and passed in 1784 ordered JPs *to inspect their houses of correction if they* had not already done so, and outlined a series of measures to raise money for their reconstruction.[46]

Under the 1698 Gaols Act, JPs had powers to build and repair gaols in their counties but there was a need for new legislation to reiterate and amend this. Sir Cecil Wray introduced a bill on 1 May 1783, which after amendments in the House of Lords, was reintroduced on 4 December 1783. The amended bill received its royal assent on 19 August 1784.[47] Under the Act, JPs were to examine their county gaols and to enlarge or replace them if they were inconvenient or in poor repair. A new site could be chosen within 2 miles (3.2km) of the original location if the site was unsuitable for reconstruction. The prisons were to have dry and airy cells arranged so that different categories of inmates could be held separately. Each prison was to have a separate infirmary or sick ward, and a chapel and baths were to be provided. One or more JPs were to visit and superintend the prisons and the gaolers they appointed were to be paid salaries or allowances. Gambling and drinking liquor were prohibited.

Prompted by the failure of the National Penitentiary and the new legislation JPs in twenty counties undertook programmes of reform of their main gaols or houses of correction during the 1780s and 1790s and more than sixty prisons were rebuilt during this period. A number of JPs seem to have been directly inspired by John Howard, who visited them while they were discussing reforming their prisons. Sir Thomas Beevor, one of the Norfolk JPs responsible for the reconstruction of the Wymondham House of Correction, admitted that Howard had inspired him (Fig 2.8).[48] The house of correction consisted of a large front block containing a committee room, a matron's room and accommodation for the keeper, with two narrow wings containing twenty-one cells behind it. These extended back towards 'a building in which is placed a mill for the cutting of logwood, beating of hemp and etc.'.[49] John Call, who dedicated his plan of Bodmin to Howard, and William Morton Pitt, who was involved with the reconstruction of Dorchester County Gaol, also followed Howard's lead.[50]

Figure 2.8
Wymondham House of Correction, Norfolk. Mid-1780s. Sir Thomas Beevor. Beevor was also inspired by Howard although this small bridewell still externally resembles earlier urban prisons. [BB97/12073]

Sussex was at the forefront of reforms in the 1770s through the new county gaol at Horsham, and during the 1780s its JPs undertook the reconstruction of the county house of correction at Petworth. It was built between 1785 and 1789 to designs by James Wyatt. The prison rules were established at the end of 1787.[51] They specified that inmates should be kept separate day and night, that they should work and that communication between them should be prevented. The system of discipline at Petworth was therefore an early example of the separate system, in contrast to the congregate system of discipline exercised at Horsham. Prisoners at Petworth were kept in individual cells day and night, and they worked in their cells rather than in common dayrooms. The Prison Inspectors William Crawford and the Revd Whitworth Russell, reviewing the original system of Petworth, stated in 1838 that 'this prison affords the earliest instance of the complete adoption of the separate system of prison discipline in the kingdom, and, we might add, in the world'.[52] The separate system continued at Petworth until 1816.

Howard's most ardent disciple was Sir George Onesiphorus Paul who was responsible for transforming Gloucestershire's prisons in the second half of the 1780s. Paul is celebrated in a monument in Gloucester Cathedral, which notes that he 'claims this mark of local respect by having first reduced to practice the principles which have immortalized the memory of Howard' and that he 'has banished the use of fetters and health has been substituted for contagion, thus happily reconciling humanity with punishment, and the prevention of crime with individual reform' (Fig 2.9).

Paul was the son of a woollen-mill owner and in 1763 he went to Oxford University.[53] He travelled abroad in the late 1760s, but with the death of his father in 1774 he moved to the recently rebuilt Hill House at Rodborough. In 1780 he became High Sheriff of Gloucestershire, and his appointment led to his involvement with the county's prison system. In 1783 he described the ruinous state of the county gaol at Gloucester, including a nightroom that was so insecure that inmates had to be chained to the wall. Prisoners charged with petty offences could be held for a year until the next Assizes, and there was widespread

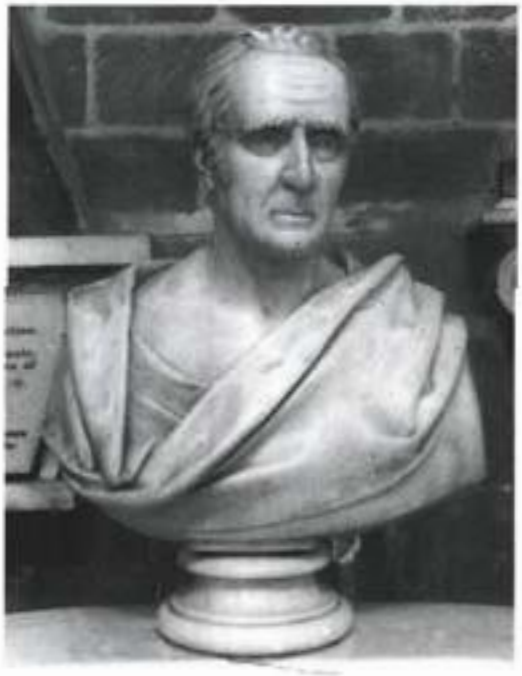


Figure 2.9
Tomb of Sir George Onesiphorus Paul in Gloucester Cathedral. [The Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art; B75/1496]

illness and the mingling of hardened criminals with young ones and men with women. He blamed 'the magistrates' inattention' for this 'most licentious intercourse', which he believed was obstructing efforts to reform prisoners.[54] He said at the Summer Assizes on 7 August 1783:

> By Reform, I mean nothing less, than an entire correction of the principle of our modes of imprisonment. No lesser object will justify us in putting the County to the expence [sic] of a material alteration, as nothing less will produce that amendment of morals and obedience to law, which are essential to the general interests of civil society.[55]

Echoing Howard's conclusions, Paul stated that a prison must be a place of safe custody, and that this could be achieved through the prison's construction, and by the careful regulation of its officials. He believed personal hygiene, the cleanliness of the building and strong ventilation were essential to prevent the outbreak of gaol fever. Prisoners needed to be separated according to their crime and their sex. This segregation would prevent young or petty offenders from picking up bad habits from more hardened criminals. Solitude was important as it was 'the most sovereign Corrector of a hardened Heart' and it was also a way of preventing unrest in the prison.[56]

Paul proposed that five bridewells and a county gaol should be built. Each felon would have a separate night cell and each of the new gaols would have a chapel, baths, infirmary and workplaces. The cost would be met from county rates although he hoped that the king would provide some funds. A working party was formed, and they decided to secure a private Act of Parliament to build a county house of correction, gaol and penitentiary at Gloucester and four houses of correction at Dursley, Bristol, Littledean, and Northleach (Fig 2.10).[57] The bill was drawn up during the early months of 1784 and on 21 June 1784 Paul and William Blackburn gave evidence to a Select Committee of the House of Commons regarding the condition of the existing prisons and the need for new ones.[58] Leave was granted for the bill to be passed and it received royal assent on 4 April 1785. Before the Act was passed, the newly formed gaol committee had met and reviewed plans for the new gaols. On 11 January 1784 they had seen the plans and estimates drawn up by Blackburn and at a meeting on 19 April 1785 he again presented his plans. His schemes were accepted and work began within two years.

The main prison at Gloucester finally opened in July 1791 but this did not mark the end of Paul's interest in prisons.[59] The rules that he developed at Gloucester were the model for the new county gaol at Dorchester and in 1808 he provided a design to the Wiltshire Justices for a new prison on the site of the earlier one at

Figure 2.10
Littledean Gaol, Gloucestershire. This is the most complete surviving prison of those built by William Blackburn in the late 1780s. Although situated in the middle of the Forest of Dean, Blackburn intended to have the word 'SOLITUDE' carved above the entrance. [BB97/06423]

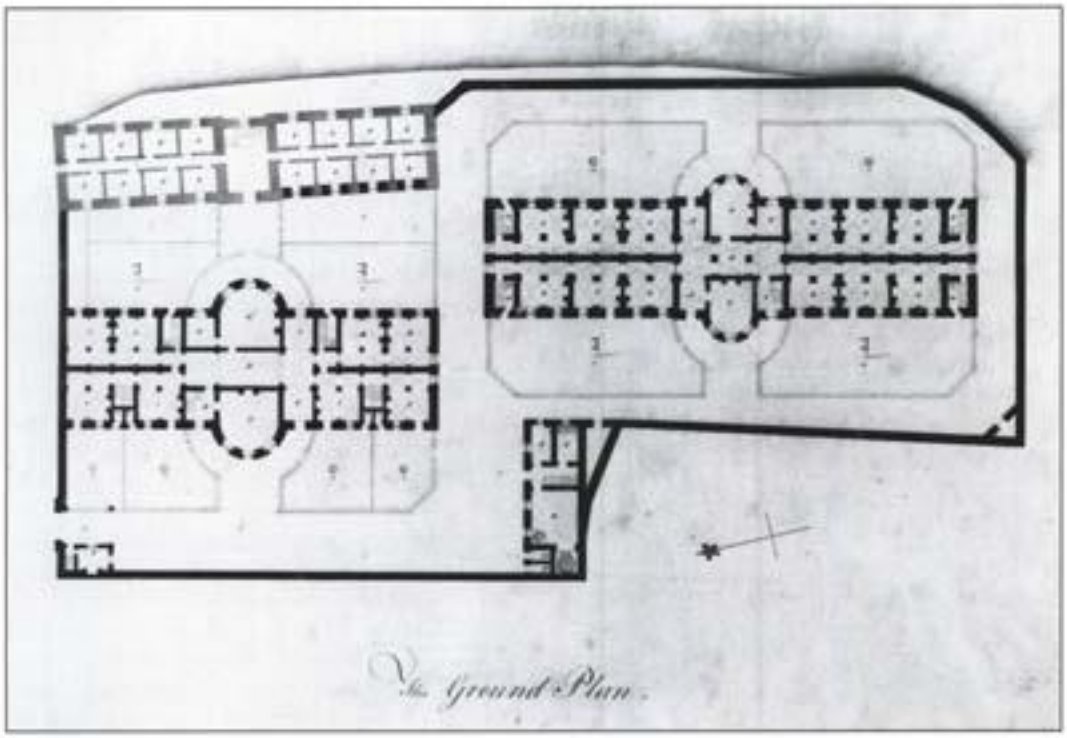


Figure 2.11
Fisherton Anger plan by Sir G O Paul 1808. Paul proposed new wings that were based on ideas developed by Howard in the 1770s. They were to have sleeping cells above groin-vaulted dayrooms. [From Wilts RO, A1 509/1, proposed plan of Fisherton Anger Gaol by Sir George Onesiphorous Paul, 1808; BB95/08345]

Fisherton Anger (Fig 2.11).[40] In the north-east corner he proposed the retention of the older prison for male and female felons. The two new buildings were a gaol and to the south of it a large bridewell. Both were similar in plan with a series of groin-vaulted dayrooms on the ground floor flanking a central area housing a stair and rooms for the gaoler, committee and the taskmaster. Both of the wings in each block were divided longitudinally to allow two classes of inmates to occupy the same wing.

Paul's proposal was not executed but in 1810 he was asked to give evidence about the regime of the penitentiary at Gloucester to the Select Committee on Penitentiaries.[41] He described the solitude in which inmates worked and slept, with association only at times of exercise and in the chapel. Inmates received no share of the earnings and in the evening two were chosen to work the treadwheel to pump water to the top of the building.[42] He also believed that a frugal diet, compulsory religious services and Bible-reading would contribute to the reformation of prisoners. His time on the bench, from 1783 until his death on 16 December 1820, saw a transformation of the conditions in Gloucestershire's prisons, and he alone spans the period from the failure of the first National Penitentiary to the realisation of the idea at Millbank.

William Blackburn

John Howard described William Blackburn as 'The ingenious Mr. Blackburn' and said that he was 'the only man capable of delineating my idea of what a prison ought to be'.[43] The author of his obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1790 noted that 'he coincided in idea of the construction of prisons with Mr Howard, who celebrates his ingenuity in some of his publications on prisons'.[44] His obituary also noted that he was the surveyor to St Thomas's and Guy's hospitals, and to the county of Surrey and 'had undertaken to rebuild Hackney church'. In fact it emphasises his non-prison work although he only carried out four such projects compared with seventeen prisons.

Blackburn's father was a tradesman from Southwark and his mother was Spanish in origin. After a limited education and an apprenticeship to a surveyor, he attended the Royal Academy and in 1776 he was appointed surveyor to the Watermen's Company. His major career break came in 1782 when he won the first prize in the National Penitentiary competition. He began working on his first prison projects in 1784, when he was asked to prepare plans for five prisons in Gloucestershire and a new house of correction at

Figure 2.12
Former gate in HMP Gloucester, Gloucestershire. Late 1780s. William Blackburn. The gate is the only building surviving from the early prison. It was raised by one storey when Victorian wings were added to either side of it.
[BB97/6604]

Preston (Lancashire). By the end of the 1780s he was simultaneously working on the construction of sixteen prisons in England and Ireland, ranging from the small local bridewells in the countryside of Gloucestershire, to large urban prisons in Gloucester, Stafford, Oxford, Liverpool and Salford. The Justices of a number of counties, including Cheshire and Shropshire, also consulted him.

He died on 29 October 1790 'Of a paralytic stroke, at Preston in Lancashire'. He was buried at Bunhill Fields Burial Ground in London where his grave was destroyed during World War II.[65] However, the inscription on his headstone was recorded in 1869. It notes that he had four children born between 1784 and 1790 and that his wife Lydia died on 29 December 1826. Many of his projects were incomplete at his death but were sufficiently advanced to be continued by the builder or clerk of works. However, his brother-in-law, William Hobson, continued the work at Lewes House of Correction. Hobson is also mentioned at Bedford where he tried to interest the Justices in reviving Blackburn's earlier designs.[66] He also assumed responsibility for the proposed gaol at Hereford in 1791 but was replaced by John Nash.[67]

Blackburn may have been a prolific architect but little of his work survives. The gate at HMP Dorchester and the former gate at HMP Gloucester that is now flanked by two Victorian wings survive, but the most substantial remnant within a working prison is the present administration building of HMP Stafford (Fig 2.12 and *see* Fig 2.25). Several of the buildings at Oxford Castle, which was a working prison until 1996, also date from Blackburn's time and the nursing home at Horsley in Gloucestershire retains features from the house of correction. The combined keeper's house and gate at Northleach are now the home of the Cotswold Countryside Collection (Fig 2.13). However, the most striking survival is the picturesque house of correction at Littledean, which has been adapted for office use with few alterations to the original structure.

In a letter dated 28 January 1783 Joseph Jekyll described Blackburn's ideas, which were modelled on those of Howard.[68] He had said that a prison needed security that would impress an inmate sufficiently to deter escape attempts, and it should have a supply of air and light. Exercise yards and workshops were to be provided. The cells were to have arched roofs, a window and a door that admitted both light and air, and iron bedsteads would be fixed to the wall so that they could not be used in an escape. Howard and Blackburn agreed on the form of doors to be employed, a double door with a solid wooden element and a separate perforated cast-iron grille. However, regarding the design of beds there was conflict between Blackburn and Howard, who favoured a movable crib-bedstead to allow cells to be cleaned.[69] Fixed iron beds and double-skin doors of the type advocated by Blackburn both survive in cells in the later gatehouse at HMP Leicester (Fig 2.14). Blackburn's concern

Figure 2.13 (above) Northleach House of Correction, Gloucestershire. Late 1780s. William Blackburn. This large prison in the middle of the Cotswolds was demolished in the 1920s apart from the gate complex, which now houses a museum. [AA98/02781]

Figure 2.14 (left) Cell in gate of HMP Leicester, Leicestershire. 1825. William Parsons. These cells were for the short-term detention of prisoners who were difficult to control. [AA98/00496]

Figure 2.15
Wall of Littledean Gaol, Gloucestershire. Late 1780s. William Blackburn. The pointing of the top section of the wall indicates where the loose courses occurred in an effort to prevent climbing. [AA97/06183]

Figure 2.16
Turnstile in Littledean Gaol, Gloucestershire. Late 1780s. William Blackburn. This pivoting, rotating gate with horizontal drawing locks allowed the movement of inmates around the prison to be regulated while still allowing air to flow around the building. [AA97/06182]

with security influenced the design of perimeter walls, as is illustrated by remarks he made to Jeremy Bentham:

> If a man gets to the other side of the wall it must be by either getting through or under or over it. To prevent his getting through, I make it of stones too massy to be displaced, as bricks may be by picking. To prevent his getting under, I make a drain. As he undermines, no sooner is he got within the arch, than out flows the water and spoils his mine.[70]

Sections of the walls at Oxford Prison confirm that he practised what he preached, at least in the choice of the size of blocks. The perimeter walls of Littledean Gaol also have large blocks low down and smaller ones at the top of the wall (Fig 2.15). The top courses of the wall were left unmortared so that the weight of an escaping inmate on them would cause a rock fall, and the top courses of the walls at Oxford and Littledean have different pointing. A surviving section and elevation of the design for the perimeter wall of Gloucester Gaol shows how he intended to achieve the difficult feat of combining a drain with solid foundations.[71]

Like Howard, Blackburn favoured building the sleeping cells above open arcades. He referred to the areas created at the base of the buildings as 'piazzas'[72] and examples of these can be seen at HMP Stafford and Oxford Castle. He employed turnstiles as a way of regulating movement around the prisons, and there were numerous examples placed at strategic points around the plan of Gloucester Gaol. An original turnstile survives at Littledean (Fig 2.16).

Blackburn and the evolution of prison plans

During the 1780s and 1790s more than twenty architects designed prisons. Most were general architects who designed only one or two prisons but a number were County Surveyors who were expected to undertake the range of projects required by their county. Many of their plans prove that they were not intimately aware of the requirements of prison designs and some were haphazard schemes on restricted urban sites. Blackburn, who was the architect most in demand, was also the most

innovative. He designed seventeen prisons and produced schemes or was asked for advice at five other sites. Although he was responsible for so many designs in just six years, there was a great variety in his plans and within his oeuvre can be found examples of all but one of the types used in prison design up to the erection of the model prison at Pentonville in 1840–2.

The single block

The simplest type of prison was the single block, the form most appropriate for a small local prison. However, it could be scaled up to contain more than 100 cells, as at Exeter where the county gaol designed by Blackburn contained 136 cells in a single range with small end blocks (Fig 2.17).[71] A similar plan was employed in 1788 by the unknown architect of the original county gaol on Jewry Street at Winchester (Fig 2.18). It consisted of a pair of cell blocks flanking a turnkey's room and a lobby that was used as a kitchen with four bedrooms on the floors above. The cell blocks were split longitudinally to allow two classes of inmates to occupy each wing. Both halves of each block contained fourteen sleeping cells and a dormitory/infirmary on the ground floor. The county bridewell at Winchester of 1787 also consisted of a central block with a pair of adjacent wings. The centre housed the keeper's house with the prison chapel on part of the upper floor. Like the county gaol the two wings were divided longitudinally. This solution for separating the classes within a wing was the one generally adopted in the early 19th century in all sizes of prison.

Blackburn placed the keeper's accommodation, chapel and infirmaries at the heart of his designs at Lewes, Horsley (Gloucestershire) and Littledean. At Horsley he did not try to separate classes of inmates within the wings. However, at Littledean he designed one line of cells to open into the internal corridor while those on the other side opened on to an external walkway, part of which survives (Fig 2.19). Blackburn employed similar external galleries at Northleach and Gloucester. A pair of single blocks was also at the heart of his very complicated plan for the house of correction at Preston, which he designed in 1784 (Fig 2.20). It consisted of two three-storeyed blocks containing open workrooms on the ground floor and sleeping cells on the upper floors. Like Littledean, one row of cells opened on to external walkways. Each block consisted of two wings with a central polygonal block. One of these centre blocks contained accommodation for the gaoler with a sessions house above, while the other contained dayrooms. At the ends of each wing there were short cell blocks. In the centre there was an octagonal chapel while a series of two-storeyed weaving cells provided labour for the inmates. None of Blackburn's buildings survives in the current prison. James Wyatt's design of Petworth in 1785 was also a small single block with wings flanking a central section that contained turnkey's rooms, stores and a two-storeyed chapel above. Unlike Blackburn's designs he placed the governor's accommodation within an enlarged gate.

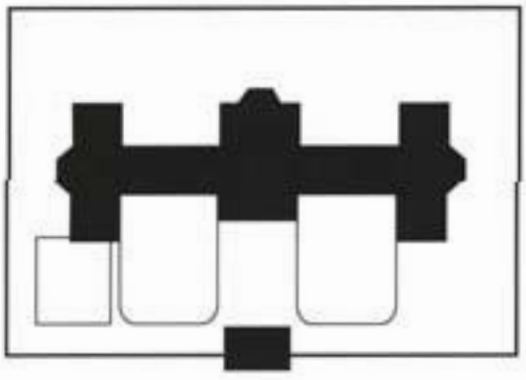


Figure 2.17
Exeter County Gaol, Devon. 1790–4. Designed by William Blackburn before his death. Block plan. [Redrawn from SIPD 1826]

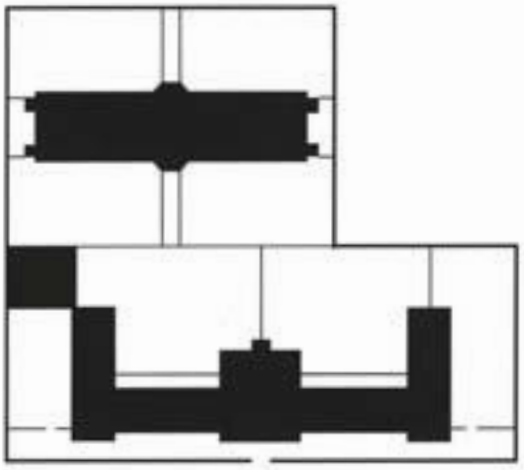


Figure 2.18
Winchester County Gaol, Hampshire. 1788. Block plan. [Redrawn from SIPD 1826]

Courtyard plans

Blackburn drew on an existing tradition of prison design in his single-block plans and the same was true of his schemes in which wings were arranged around courtyards. In origin this plan-type was undoubtedly

Figure 2.19 (right) General view of prison, Littledean Gaol, Gloucestershire. Late 1780s. William Blackburn. This small, very complete prison sits in the heart of the Forest of Dean and its rural location is a major reason for its survival. [AA97/06187]

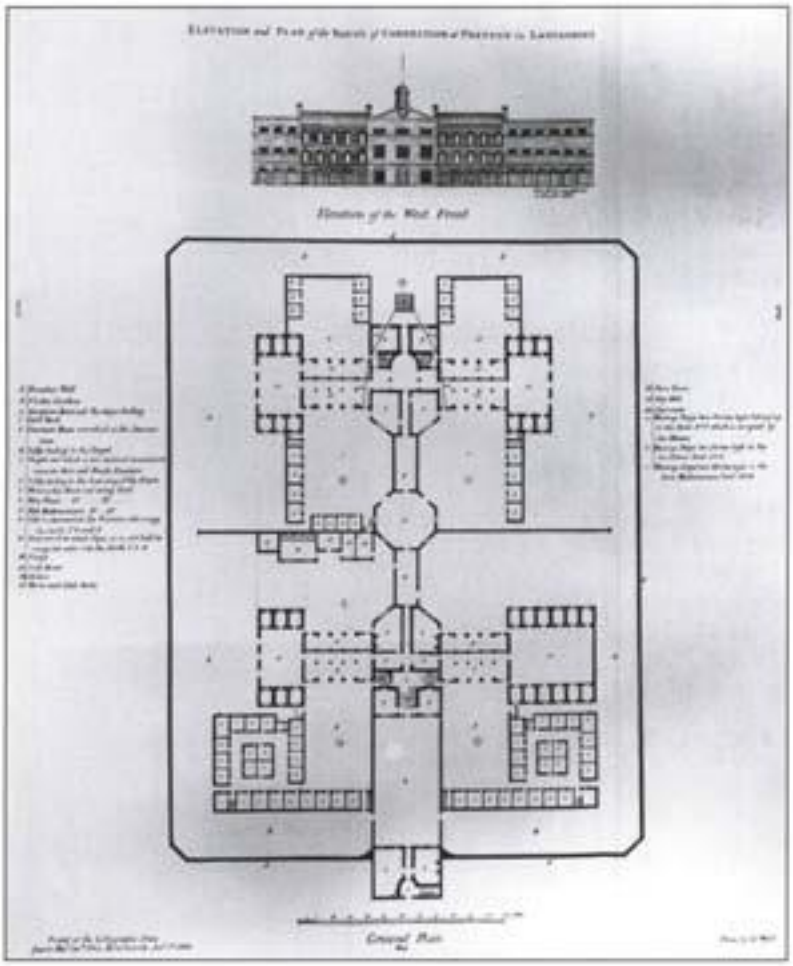


Figure 2.20 (below) Preston House of Correction, Lancashire. Plan. 1784. William Blackburn. Two single blocks provided most of the cell accommodation with long narrow ranges containing workrooms. [PP 1819 (579) VII]

derived from the monastic cloister and almshouses were probably the earliest institutions to adopt it. By the 18th century it was regularly used in the design of large hospitals such as at St Bartholomew's, Guy's and St Thomas's in London.[14] Blackburn was the surveyor of these last two hospitals and would have been familiar with the merits of this type of plan. Large courtyard plans were developed for the proposed reconstruction of Newgate in the 1750s and for the final executed design. They were also employed for county gaols at Hertford and Moulsham in the 1770s and for the Surrey County Gaol at Horsemonger Lane in Newington in 1791–8.[15] The house of correction at Wymondham built in 1783–5 is a smaller example of this plan-type.

One of the largest conventional courtyard plans of the period was the gaol and house of correction at Shrewsbury (Figs 2.21 and 2.22). Blackburn had an involvement with Shrewsbury and his influence can be seen in the plan. An Act of Parliament for its reconstruction was passed in 1786, and on 11 May the first meeting was held of the commissioners who were to implement it. Later that month, they invited Blackburn to choose a site and prepare a plan for the prison. He appears to have selected the site and produced outlines of how the prison should be laid out. However, he declined to

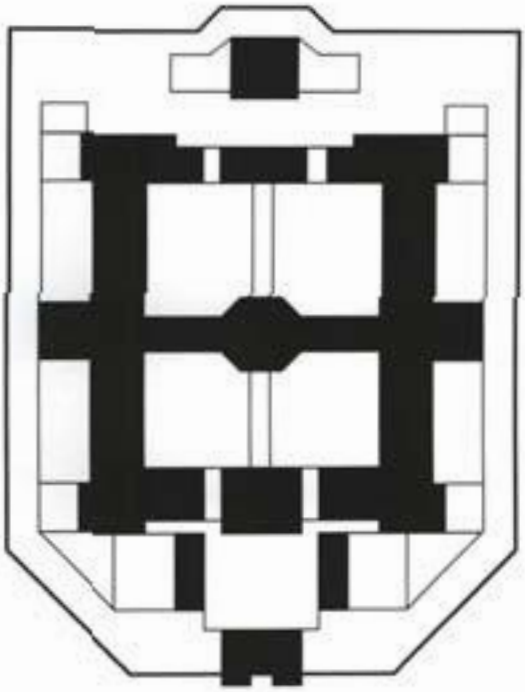


Figure 2.21
Shrewsbury County Gaol, Shropshire. Block plan in early 19th century. 1787–93. John Hiram Haycock. [Redrawn from SIPD 1826]

prepare a detailed plan, as in July the commissioners placed advertisements for plans and estimates in the Shrewsbury and Birmingham newspapers. They specified that there must be dayrooms and night cells and gave details of how the different classes were to be arranged. The gaol was to have 8 courts and 110 cells and the house of correction was to have 5 courts and 70 cells. In October the results of the competition were announced, with the first prize of £50 going to 'Edificium', John Hiram Haycock.[76] Although there is no evidence for Blackburn's continuing involvement after the formulation of the scheme, the central octagonal chapel appears to be derived from his design of Preston House of Correction.

Blackburn employed a variation of the courtyard plan at two prisons, Gloucester and Stafford. At Gloucester, only the original gate survives. It became redundant when the area of the site expanded in 1826 and is now sandwiched between two wings *that were added in the 1840s.* However, a comprehensive set of his architectural drawings produced in the 1780s survives, containing details about the materials and construction techniques, as well as providing the overall design of the prison (Fig 2.23).[77] They show that it was square in plan with four wings extending to the north and south, from the four corners of the square. All the blocks were of three storeys though there was a low fourth storey above the eastern of the central blocks. They were built of brick with stone dressings.

Although it was a single large complex, it served as a gaol, penitentiary and house of correction for Gloucestershire in which each category of inmate was kept apart, though they shared a chapel and infirmary. The penitentiary occupied the south part of the prison while the gaol occupied the north. The house of correction does not seem to have been a specific separate area. The prison had nine dayrooms fitted for simple cooking on the ground floor and nine exercise yards. The yards were separated by rows of iron railings, the design of which appear in Blackburn's drawings. The gaol contained seventy-eight cells while the penitentiary had fifty-two night and fifty-two day cells. Subsequent alterations made to Blackburn's drawings suggest that a number of the 'piazzas' were built as cells or were soon subdivided. James Neild, who visited in 1812, described in detail the accommodation provided for the debtors.[78] They were provided with thirty-four cells and six five-bedded rooms, one of which housed female debtors. Each cell measured 8ft by 6ft (2.4 × 1.8m) with arched roofs, an iron bedstead, hair mattress, blankets, sheets and quilt. Debtors had a dayroom on the ground floor with two fireplaces, and there were also large workrooms to allow them to earn money to clear their debts. As at Littledean, half the cells had doors

Figure 2.22
Gate of Shrewsbury County Gaol (now HMP Shrewsbury), Shropshire. 1787–93. John Hiram Haycock. The gate is the only building to have survived from the original prison. John Howard's bust adorns the centre of it. [BB97/06632]

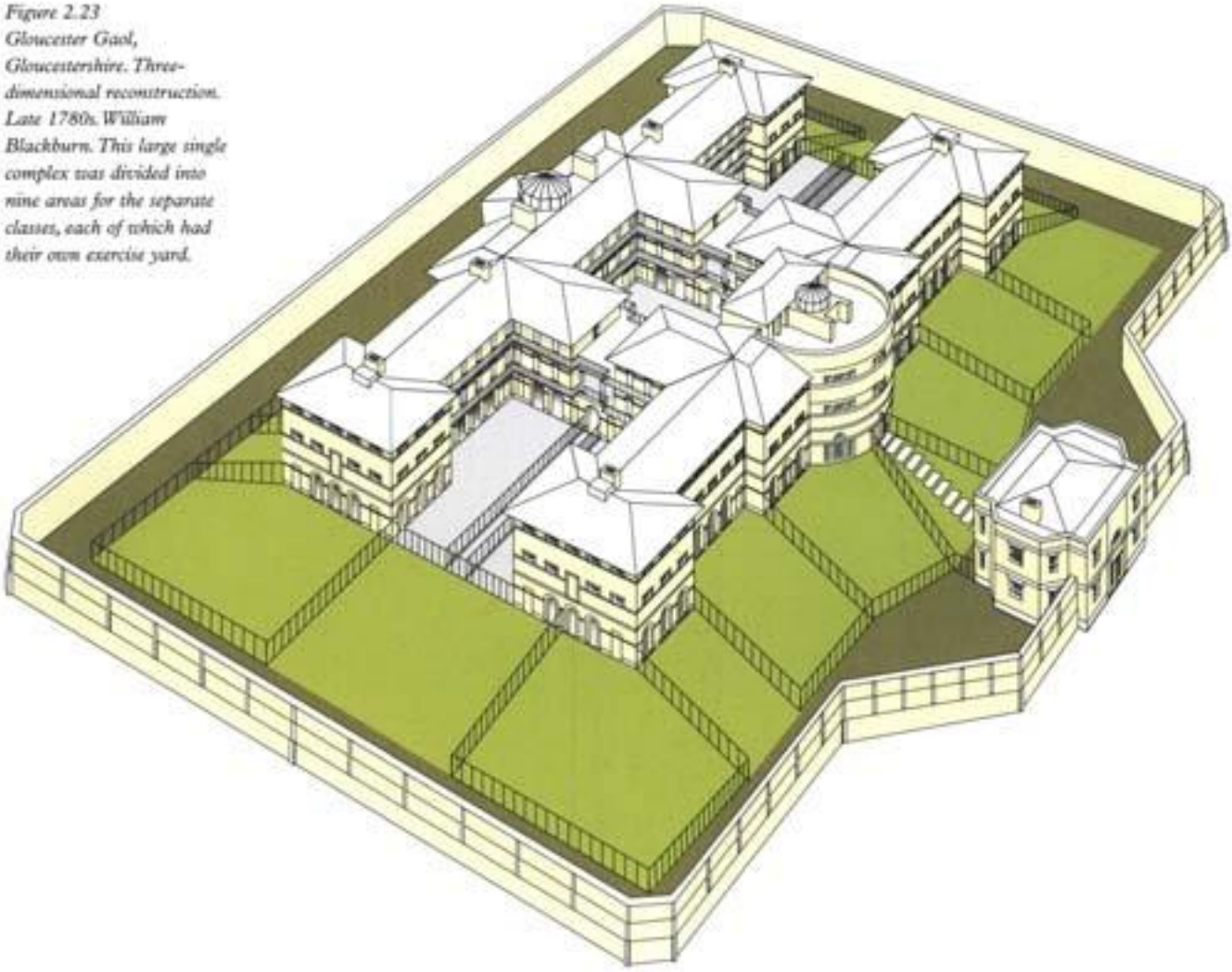


Figure 2.23
Gloucester Gaol, Gloucestershire. Three-dimensional reconstruction. Late 1780s. William Blackburn. This large single complex was divided into nine areas for the separate classes, each of which had their own exercise yard.

opening on to galleries around the exterior of the wings. Night cells occupied most of the space on the first and second floors but the upper floors of the polygonal block at the west side of the site may have been the chapel. The eastern block, which was semi-circular, contained accommodation for the governor. The top floor of this block contained an infirmary. There were no cells in the central parts of the wings that join the east and west ranges; instead two pairs of Doric columns on the first floor carried the walkways linking the two halves of the floor above.

At HMP Stafford the present administration building is the remains of the west side of a complex similar in plan to the Gloucester prison (Figs 2.24 and 2.25). It was designed by Blackburn in 1787 and consisted of a central quadrangle with four wings extending to the north and south. The ground floor consisted of groin-vaulted arcades with stone piers, and some of these survive in the present administration building. They provided workrooms and shelter from inclement weather while the upper floors of the building contained single sleeping cells.

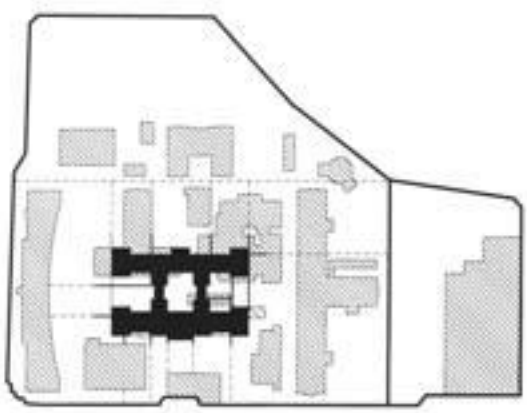


Figure 2.24
Stafford County Gaol, Staffordshire. Block plan in early 19th century. Late 1780s. William Blackburn. [19th-century block plan (dark shade) redrawn from SIPD 1826, hatched area recent block plan of HMP Stafford]

Figure 2.25 (left) Stafford County Gaol (now HMP Stafford), Staffordshire. Administration building. Late 1780s, William Blackburn. The prison's original plan was similar to that of Gloucester Gaol. Half of the complex survives in the modern prison. [AA95/05869]

Figure 2.26 (below) Coldbath Fields, London. Bird's-eye view of prison. 1788. Designed by Jacob Leroux, based on drawings by Aaron Henry Hurst. 1788. This prison was obviously based on the ideas developed by Blackburn at Gloucester and Stafford. [From Mayhew and Binny 1862; BB97/09699]

The only prison derived from Blackburn's developed courtyard plan was the Coldbath Fields House of Correction, built in 1788–94 (Fig 2.26). Charles Middleton published plans in 1788 as the basis for building tenders, although they were devised by Jacob Leroux who was apparently revising an earlier scheme by Aaron Henry Hurst.[79] The prison had two storeys of sleeping cells above a vaulted ground floor. Some larger rooms on the upper floors held prisoners of state while others were used as wash-houses, stores, dayrooms, an infirmary and a laundry.

Pavilion plans

Howard's plan for a county gaol in *The State of the Prisons* was based on a series of pavilions set within their own courtyards, and John Call produced a version of it for Bodmin County Gaol. Blackburn adopted this plan for the county gaols at Dorchester (Dorset) in 1787 and at Oxford in the late 1780s (Fig 2.27). Oxford Gaol was built beside the keep and chapel of the castle at Oxford, and in addition to a three-block pavilion-type plan, there were also two other separate wings. The south-east wing, C wing,

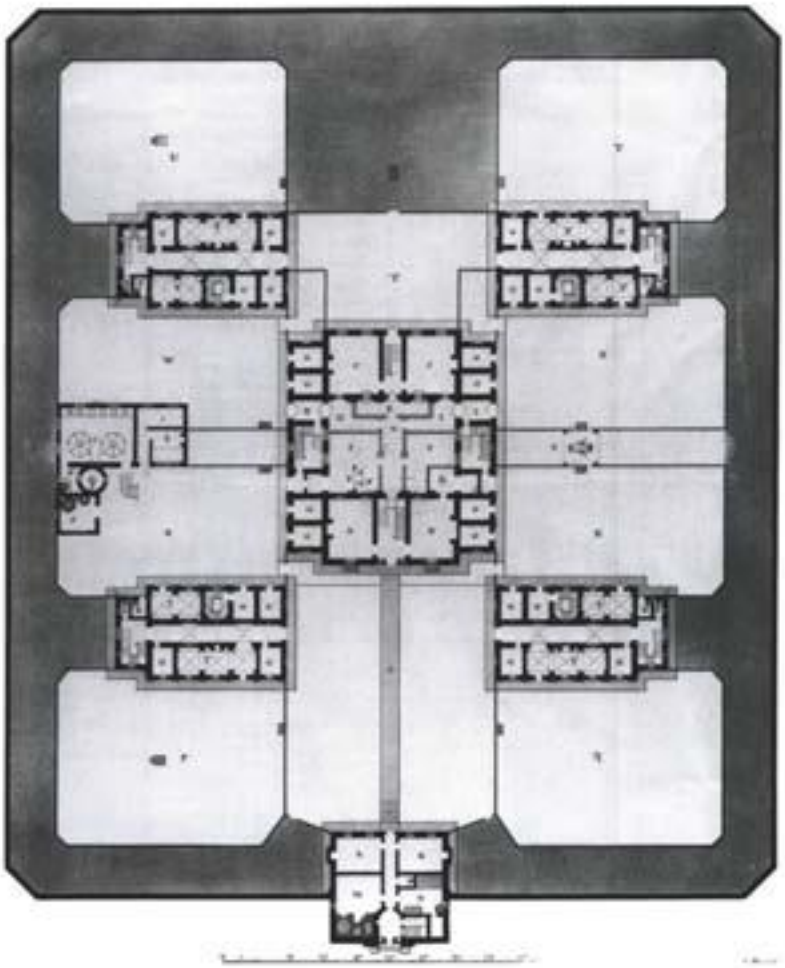


Figure 2.27 (above) Dorchester County Gaol, Dorset. [Plan in Wilts RO, A1 516/5; BB95/08205]

was completed before his death in 1790 and sits above the crypt of the Norman chapel. The north-west wing, D Wing, was not begun before about 1795, but follows the same design as the earlier wing. Daniel Harris, who was keeper of the county gaol, may have built it, though he was probably employing a design by Blackburn or one derived from the earlier wing.[80]

Polygonal plans

The single block, courtyard and pavilion plans all employed the right-angle as the basis for their design, but Blackburn was the first architect in England to use polygons and radiating plans in large institutional buildings. The great advantage of the polygonal plan was the ability to create a compact design which still had good visibility from the centre of the site. However, he may also have been inspired by Howard who visited the incomplete Maison de Force, Ghent, which had a partly polygonal plan though it also had radiating wings. At Northleach, designed in 1785, he arranged cell blocks in the shape of five sides of an octagon (Fig 2.28).[81] The ends of the plan had three storeyed square blocks and the central range also had three floors. The ground floors of these three blocks were probably dayrooms. The other ranges were two storeyed with day cells on the ground

Figure 2.28 (right) Northleach Gaol, Gloucestershire. Photograph taken prior to demolition in 1920s. This large polygonal prison housed inmates in wings with cells opening to the outside, an arrangement to maximise the circulation of air to prevent disease. [CC60/127]

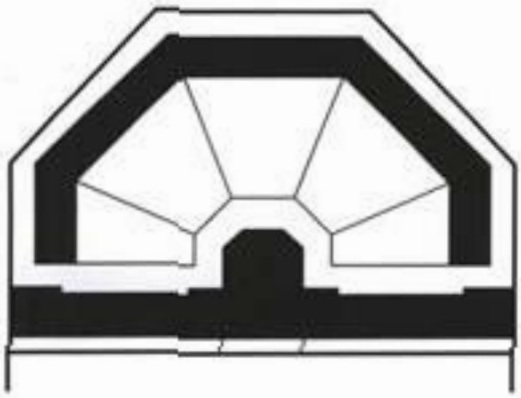


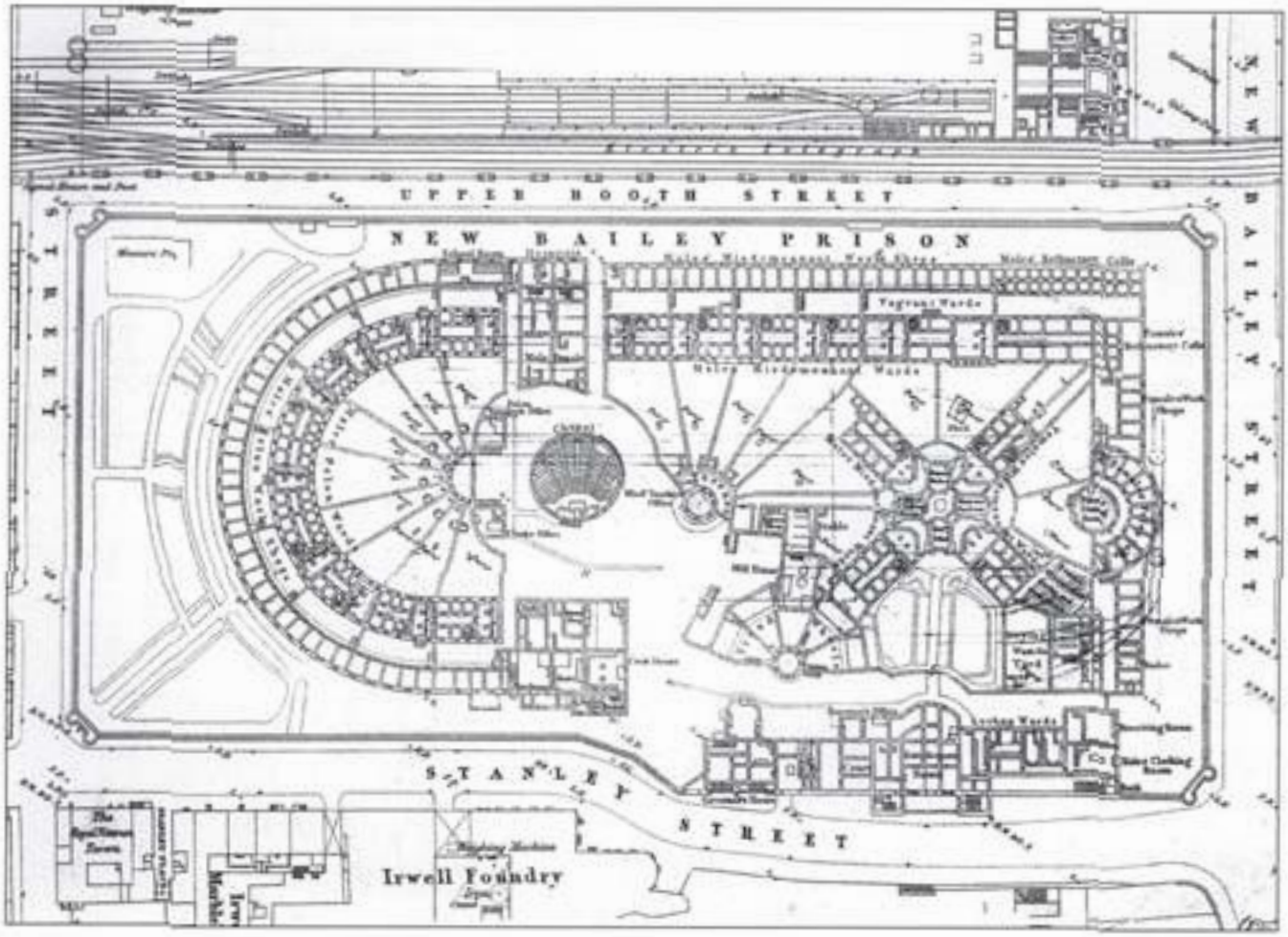
Figure 2.29 (left) Chester Castle County Gaol, Cheshire. Block plan in early 19th century. [Redrawn from SIPD 1826]

floor and sleeping cells on the first floor which opened on to an external walkway. The keeper's house was incorporated into the gate and is the only part of Blackburn's prison to survive. The polygonal plan was soon adopted at Chester Castle for the felons' prison designed by Thomas Harrison (Fig 2.29). In 1784 Blackburn had been consulted about Mr Turner's proposed plans for the gaol, which he considered unsatisfactory.[82] Therefore, a competition was held in 1785 that led to designs by Harrison being adopted. Work did not begin until 1789 and the felons' prison was ready for occupation by August 1793. The whole prison does not seem to have been completed until 1801.[83]

Radial plans

In the late 18th or early 19th century there were two types of radial designs in prison architecture, both of which Blackburn employed. The first and generally smaller type had wings attached to a central hub, and although superficially similar to plans of the great Victorian radial prisons, they were profoundly different because the corridors in the wings were not open from floor to ceiling. At Salford New Bailey (Greater Manchester), which opened in 1790, four short wings extended from a central core, which contained offices and the

Figure 2.30 (below) Salford New Bailey, Greater Manchester, 1790, William Blackburn. [Lancs RO, Reproduced from the 1851 Ordnance Survey map, 1:1056 Manchester 27]



keeper's accommodation (Fig 2.30).[84] The same type of plan was also adopted for the Suffolk County Gaol and House of Correction at Ipswich which was built between 1786 and 1790 (Fig 2.31). The Society for the Improvement of Prison Design (SIPD) in the 1820s attributed the design to Blackburn but an entry in the Quarter Sessions Order Book states that on 22 November 1785 plans by John and Thomas Fulcher were accepted.[85] The advanced nature of the Ipswich plan and its similarity to the slightly later one at Salford suggest that the scheme that was actually executed may have superseded Fulcher's plan. Like Salford, it had a central hub containing the keeper's house, magistrates' room, chapel and infirmaries. The four wings were three storeyed, six bays long and may have had open arcades on the ground floor.[86]

Blackburn was also involved in the design of a third prison with this type of radial plan. In 1790 he was asked to prepare a report on the condition of the old county gaol and bridewell at Hereford and was asked to choose a site for a new prison.[87] By 21 October his plans for the prison had been approved but with his death a week later his brother-in-law William Hobson was appointed as the architect. He finished his plans in July 1791 but a year later it was decided that alternative plans by John Nash should be executed. The prison was completed in the summer of 1796 and today sections of the perimeter walls and the later governor's house survive as part of the bus station. Nash's prison consisted of a central hub containing a hall with a chapel above, with three cell blocks radiating from it. A fourth short wing contained the gaoler's house and committee room. There is no indication that Blackburn had a role in the formulation of the final form of the prison but the original scheme may have influenced Nash.

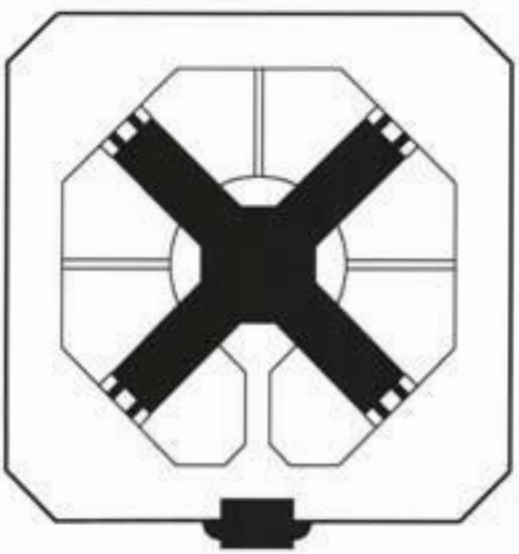


Figure 2.31
Ipswich County Gaol, Suffolk. Block plan in early 19th century. 1786–90. Built to designs by William Blackburn or John and Thomas Fulcher. [Redrawn from SIPD 1826]

Radial plans were probably adopted more rapidly in prisons than in hospitals because they offered the potential to oversee and manage inmates in their yards and in their cell blocks. William Stark built the first asylum with a fully developed radial plan in Glasgow in 1810.[88] The only radial asylum in England was the Cornwall Lunatic Asylum at Bodmin, designed by John Foulston and erected between 1817 and 1820. Thurgarton Hundred Incorporation Workhouse, later Southwell Union Workhouse, which opened in 1824, was an important forerunner of the radially planned workhouses of the New Poor Law. In 1835 four model designs by Sampson Kempthorne were published with the first annual report of the Poor Law Commissioners, leading to the erection of dozens of radial workhouses.[89]

Blackburn also constructed one prison with a series of wings arranged around but detached from the central block. On 4 February 1784 the Grand Jury reported that the previous borough gaol in Liverpool was totally unsuitable and a new site was chosen (Fig 2.32).[90] Blackburn designed the new gaol for 270 inmates, probably in 1785, but it appears to have been incomplete at his death in 1790. During the wars with France in the 1790s it held French prisoners of war, but with the temporary cessation of hostilities after the Peace of Amiens in 1802 they were discharged.[91] It is unclear whether it was again used for this purpose when hostilities resumed. In 1806 the council discussed the completion of the building and in March 1810 a resolution was passed to give the new gaol committee powers to complete the prison. Inmates were transferred from the old borough gaol in 1811. J Wallace, writing about Liverpool in 1795, refers to the borough gaol in the chapter on 'Buildings and Institutions of amusement and recreation'![92] He stated that the prison was so big that it held twice as many cells and dormitories as Newgate 'and on fair calculation will hold more than half the inhabitants of Liverpool'. This second statement would have meant that the prison held around 40,000 inmates, rather than the 270 for which it was designed.

A car park and a railway line now occupy the site of the gaol but its plan is known from the 1849 Ordnance Survey town map of Liverpool. At the centre of the site was a building that probably combined accommodation for the turnkey with offices, and perhaps a kitchen. Around this building six cell blocks radiated to form what appear to be the spokes of half a wheel. All the blocks were physically unconnected at ground-floor level, an aid to the circulation of air. The wings on either side of the central block had dayrooms at each end, while the other four had dayrooms only at their outer end. If this prison followed the pattern that Blackburn employed elsewhere the upper storeys housed single sleeping cells.

James Wardrop copied the Liverpool Borough Gaol design in his 1791 proposal for Calton Gaol in Edinburgh, and at Dartmoor (Devon) (1806–9).[93] The close connection with Dartmoor may have been a result of the borough gaol having been used for prisoners of war, the original function of Dartmoor. According to the SIPD Report in 1826 the borough gaol's plan was derived from the scheme that Blackburn submitted as his entry for the National Penitentiary competition.[94] Although they criticised its plan because the wings were too close to each other around the central block, the whole of their report advocated that prisons should be built with detached wings and a separate centre. In promoting this type of prison the SIPD was recognising the plan-type that had come to dominate prison architecture in the first quarter of the 19th century.

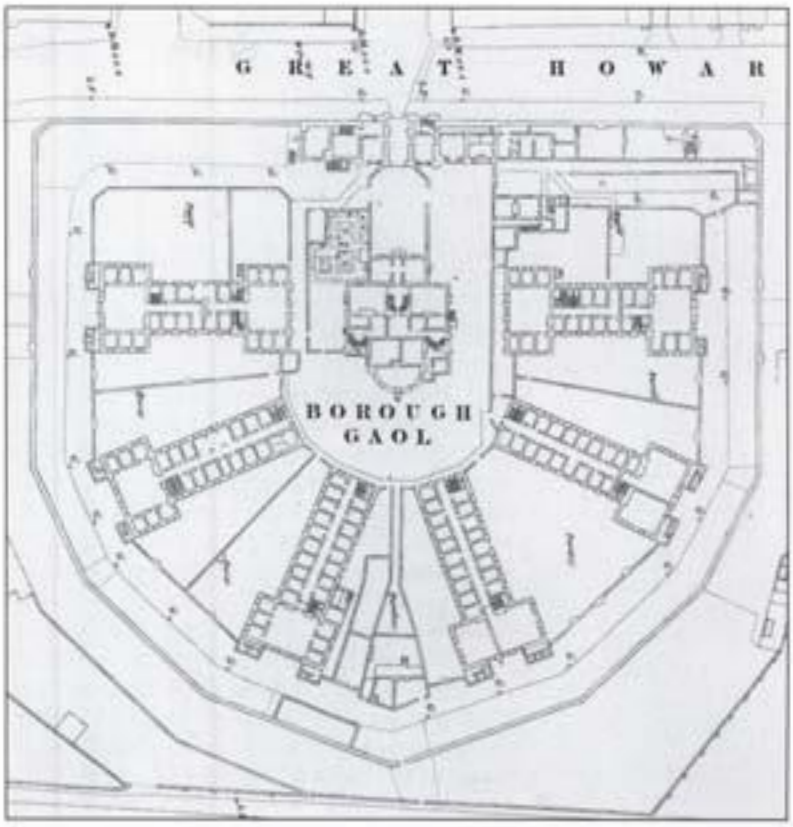


Figure 2.32
Liverpool Borough Gaol, Merseyside. Designed in 1785. William Blackburn. [Reproduced from the 1848/50 Ordnance Survey map, 1:1056 Liverpool 18; by permission of the British Library OST 59 SHEET 18]

The end of the boom

In the early 1790s a number of changes occurred which affected the construction of prisons. Most counties that had decided to rebuild their county gaols or houses of correction had completed, or were near to completing their building programme. Therefore, although a small number of cities, towns and boroughs continued to rebuild their prisons, counties largely suspended building activity. The resumption of transportation, no longer to America but now to more distant Australia, removed the immediate necessity for new large national penitentiaries. The spiritual and architectural leaders of the reformed prison architecture, Howard and Blackburn, both died in 1790 and the outbreak of war with France in 1793 probably helped to deter new construction schemes. There was to be no new nationwide building campaign for prisons on the scale of the late 1780s until the years immediately after the completion of Pentonville in 1842.

3
National and Local Prisons, 1800–1835

Prisoners of war

The cessation of transportation to America forced the Government in the 1770s to consider the foundation of two national penitentiaries, but no national prison opened until Millbank began to receive inmates in the late 1810s. However, central government had been involved in imprisonment through the need to hold large numbers of prisoners of war. By the end of the Seven Years War in 1763 makeshift prisons were holding around 40,000 French prisoners and during the late 1770s and 1780s Americans, Spaniards and Dutchmen were held at a number of sites. The wars with France from 1793 to 1815 saw up to 122,440 prisoners being detained, a huge figure when compared with the population of civilian prisons.[1] Estimates based on Howard's *State of the Prisons* suggest a civilian prison population of just over 4,000, which is likely to be an underestimate, while in 1819 the number of inmates in prison was around 16,000. Therefore the scale of the problem was almost tenfold that faced by civilian authorities. However, as the aim of military imprisonment was to detain prisoners securely until peace was declared or an exchange arranged, the prisons did not need to be elaborate structures with cells, workrooms and a chapel. Ordinary prisoners slept in dormitories, usually on hammocks, while petty officers often had their own accommodation. Officers may have been detained in prison or were sometimes paroled to live in nearby towns. Purpose-built prisoner-of-war camps could hold up to 10,000 inmates, as at Dartmoor, and therefore to maintain security there was

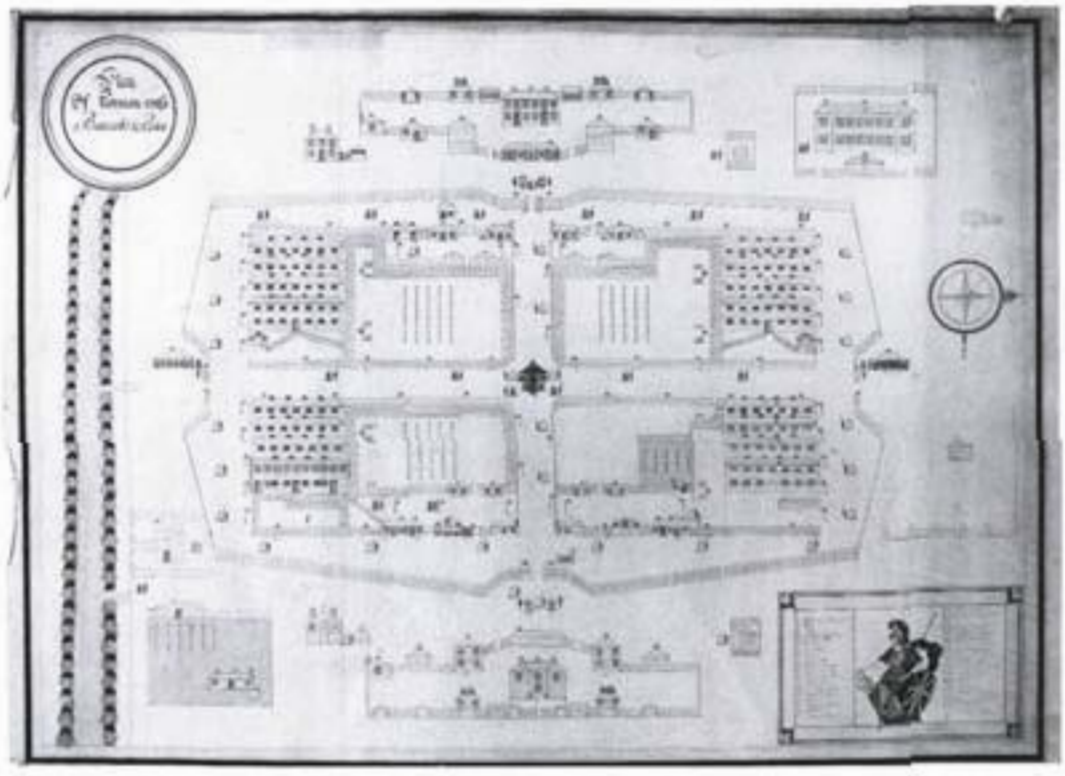


Figure 3.1
Norman Cross Camp, Yaxley, Cambridgeshire. Late 18th-century view. Since this was a prisoner-of-war camp inmates were relatively free to move around during the day. Its layout would be recognised by inmates in modern camps. [From Berks RO, D/EE P16]

a need for armed soldiers to patrol the perimeter. In addition to prisons on land, a large part of the prisoner-of-war population was held on hulks. The earliest prison hulk, the *Cornwall*, was established in 1755 for French prisoners, while during the American War of Independence there were three hulks at Chatham, Portsmouth and Plymouth.[2] During the Napoleonic War forty-seven hulks in total were moored at the dockyards at Chatham, Portsmouth and Plymouth.

The Seven Years War saw the creation of prisons all over the country. They were established in existing fortifications, such as Edinburgh Castle, Portchester Castle or Sissinghurst Castle.[3] Dockyards also provided facilities for land-based prisoners, and there were also prisons at Winchester, at Yarmouth (Isle of Wight) and at Roscrow and Kergilliack near Penryn in Cornwall. At Liverpool the old borough gaol (Liverpool Old Gaol) located in a 15th-century fortified house was used and during the 1780s new prisons were opened at Stapleton in Bristol and at Shrewsbury. In 1782 Stapleton held 774 Spaniards and 13 Dutchmen and following its enlargement and reconstruction at the beginning of the 19th century it could hold 2,900.[4] In September 1783 the former orphans' hospital at Shrewsbury was converted to hold up to 600 Dutch prisoners.[5]

Prior to the outbreak of war with France in the 1790s, prisoners of war were mostly detained in prisons that were adaptations of existing buildings, and some of these earlier prisons continued to be used. However, the increase in the numbers of prisoners of war meant that new large prisons had to be built in England, at Norman Cross (Cambridgeshire) and Dartmoor, and in Scotland at Valleyfield (Fife) and Perth (Perthshire). Norman Cross was constructed in 1796–7 and closed in 1816.[6] None of the buildings of the camp survives, but the former agent's house and barrack-masters' houses remain beside extensive earthworks (Fig 3.1). The prison was divided into four compounds, each with four two-storeyed wooden blocks. Most of them were lit by four-light mullioned windows, which may have been unglazed, and the blocks appear to be unheated though braziers may have been provided. The exceptions are in the north-east compound, where three of the four blocks appear to have glazed multi-pane windows, and in the south-east compound where one building has some of these windows. All the blocks in the north-east compound had chimneys. The variations in the buildings probably indicate different functions, such as hospital blocks, or officers' quarters. The separate compounds to the east and west of the main prison were probably barracks for the guarding soldiers.

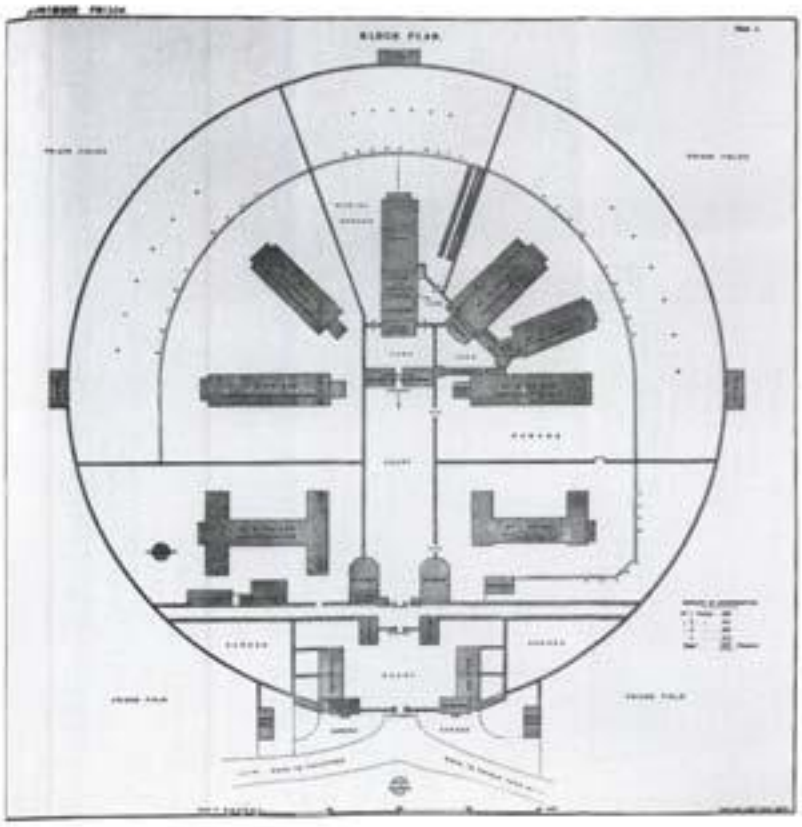


Figure 3.2
Dartmoor Prison (now HMP Dartmoor), Devon. Plan in mid-19th century. 1806–9, 1812. Daniel Asher Alexander. [From RDMCP 1850; BB98/10047]

The proximity of prisoners of war on hulks to arsenals at Plymouth prompted the Transport Board of the Admiralty to seek sites for a new prison and on 26 June 1805 they reported that Dartmoor was 'a most eligible and healthy situation for such a purpose'.[7] On 18 July 1805 the architect, Daniel Asher Alexander, and Thomas Tyrwhitt, the Lord Warden of the Stannaries, chose the present site (Figs 3.2, 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5). Work began during the winter of 1805–6 and the foundation stone of the prison was laid on 20 March 1806. Alexander had promised that the site would be ready for occupation by Christmas 1807, but adverse weather conditions and the poor roads to the site meant that there were major delays. The prison did not receive inmates until 24 May 1809 but by June of that year 5,000 prisoners were

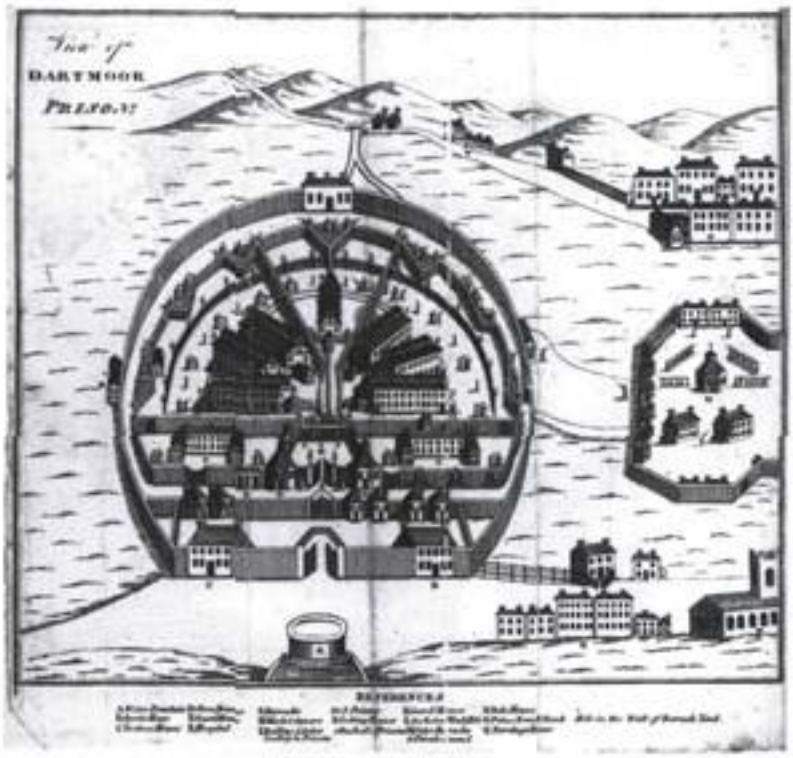


Figure 3.3
Dartmoor Prison (now HMP Dartmoor), Devon. View in 1812. 1806–9, 1812. Daniel Asher Alexander. In 1812 two extra smaller blocks were added to accommodate the additional numbers of prisoners resulting from the war between America and Britain. [By permission of the British Library C.38 e.37]

housed there.[9] Between 1812 and 1815 two smaller wings were added to house extra prisoners resulting from the USA's involvement in the conflict.

In Risdon's *Survey of Devon* published in 1811 there is a description of the prison soon after it opened:

> An outer wall encloses a circle of about thirty acres [12.1 hectares]; within this is another wall, which encloses the area in which the prison stands; this area is the smaller circle with a segment cut off. The prisons are five large rectangular buildings, each capable of containing more than fifteen hundred men; they each have two floors, where is arranged a double tier of hammocks, slung on cast-iron pillars; and a third floor in the roof, which is used as a promenade in wet weather. There are, besides, two other spacious buildings; one of which is a large hospital, and the other is appropriated to the petty officers, who are judiciously separated from the men. In the area, likewise, are sheds, or open buildings, for recreation in bad weather. The space between the walls forms a fine military road round the hole where the guard parades, and the sentinels being posted on platforms overlooking the inner-wall, have a complete command of the prison without intermixing with the prisoners. The segment cut off from the inner circle, contains the governor's house, and other buildings necessary for the civil establishment; and into this part of the ground the country people are admitted, who resort to a daily market with vegetables, and other such things as the prisoners purchase to add to the fare that is provided for them, and which they buy at lower rates, than they can generally be procured for at the market towns.[9]

HMP Dartmoor still has the distinctive radiating plan of the original design despite the dramatic alterations of the past century. As it was a prisoner-of-war camp the inmates were free to move around as they wished until curfew. The radial plan permitted relatively few soldiers to maintain order and meant that no inmate was far from the central marketplace and other services near the main gate. Alexander's inspiration for this plan may have been the one submitted by William Blackburn for the National Penitentiary competition in 1782, the plan of which is reputed to have inspired his design of the borough gaol at Liverpool. Alternatively, Liverpool may have been the direct inspiration, as it had also been used to hold prisoners of war.

Two prisoner-of-war camps were established in Scotland, at Valleyfield and at Perth, the latter now being the site of HMP Perth. In 1810 the Government purchased the Esk Mills at Valleyfield and by 6 February 1811 the first 350 inmates had arrived. Following a major building programme costing £73,000, the prison could hold 5,000 prisoners in six three-storeyed wooden blocks measuring between 80 and 100ft (24.4 and 30.5m) long.[10] The prisoner-of-war depot at Perth opened in September 1812 and it remained in use for only two years.[11] A plan drawn in 1840 shows that it differed markedly from contemporary civil prisons but shared many features with Dartmoor.[12] Perth had five wings arranged around five sides of an octagon with a central detached polygonal block that had a tall observation tower rising from it. The other buildings at Perth were a pair of hospitals, two two-storeyed kitchens with flanking stores, single-storeyed quarters, a pair of guardrooms and houses for the

Figure 3.4 (above)
HMP Dartmoor, Devon. General view, 1806–9, 1812. Daniel Asher Alexander. Although most of the wings have been rebuilt the prison is still contained within its circular perimeter. [BB97/00140]

Figure 3.5 (left)
HMP Dartmoor, Devon. 1806–9, 1812. Daniel Asher Alexander. When the cell blocks were rebuilt during the late 19th century the original radial layout was retained, although only two of the early buildings survive. [18015/23]

surgeon and the agent. These are located at the front of the prison, in an arrangement similar to the comparable buildings at Dartmoor. Several of the original buildings survive in the current HMP Perth, including the centre block and sections of the perimeter wall in which the sentry positions can be seen.

Reviving the National Penitentiary

Central government's first venture into establishing a civil prison failed with the abandonment of the National Penitentiaries in the 1780s, and it was not until the 1810s that Millbank opened. However, the vision of a national prison inspired Jeremy Bentham to devise the panopticon to fulfil it. His first ideas regarding prisons were to create colour-coded penal institutions. The house of safe custody for debtors and those awaiting trial was to be a white building, the penitentiary for short-term prisoners would be grey while the black prison was for those condemned to perpetual imprisonment.[13] In 1778 Bentham published a pamphlet on the newly published Hard Labour Bill and some of his observations were incorporated in the 1779 Penitentiary Act.[14] In 1786 he travelled to Russia where his brother Samuel (1757–1831) was working on the estate of Grigori Potemkin (1739–91).[15] Samuel had devised a panopticon-plan building as a workshop on the estate and his brother adopted this as the basis for his prison design.

Jeremy Bentham returned to London in February 1788 and by 1790 he was discussing building a panopticon in Dublin. There was also some interest in erecting one in Paris in 1791 but by May 1792 he had managed to persuade Henry Dundas, the Home Secretary, to take an interest in his scheme. A short enabling Act passed in 1794 empowered the Treasury to find a site and to make a contract for managing the prison, but it took until November 1799 for Bentham to acquire land at Millbank. Further delays followed until the Prime Minister, Henry Addington, abandoned the project, in June 1803. Bentham hoped that his panopticon would be built during the next few years when the Holford Committee was established to review the laws relating to penitentiaries, but instead Millbank was erected, an institution that he hated as it was almost diametrically opposed to all his ideas.[16]

Bentham's panopticon was a great rotunda, similar in scale to the one in Ranelagh Gardens (London) (Fig 3.6).[17] Cells were arranged around the outside and in the centre there was an inspection area. In the original version of *Panopticon; Or the Inspection House*, published in 1791, he proposed that inmates would be housed in single cells but by 1792 in *Postscript I* he favoured holding up to four inmates in larger rooms.[18] Initially he envisaged the governor living in the centre, but later he placed the house in a separate block beside the exterior of the prison. Originally inmates were to worship from their cells but in later versions a separate chapel was provided. Included in the design were elaborate systems of heating and ventilation tubes and he proposed providing conversation tubes for communication around the prison. He proposed that his prison would have a cast-iron structure.

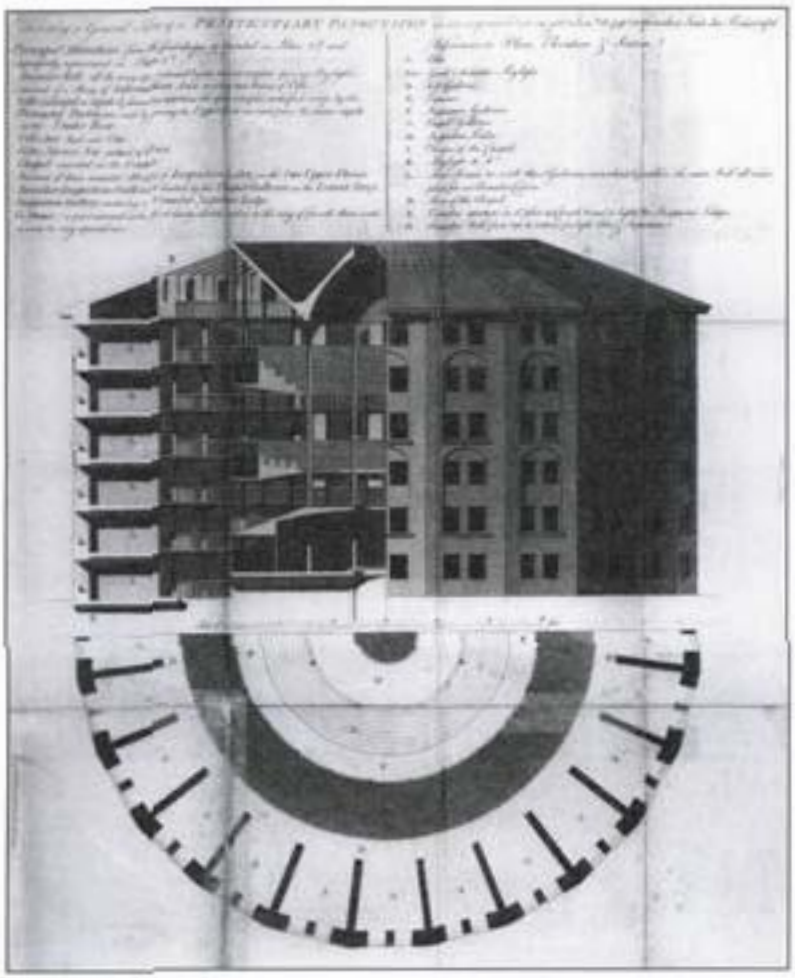


Figure 3.6
Panopticon. Proposal of 1791. Jeremy Bentham. [By permission of the British Library 1651/999]

However, the first fully fireproofed cast-iron structure was not erected until 1797 when the flax mill at Ditherington (Shropshire) was constructed. A structure as sophisticated as Bentham's proposal with its complex tubular systems was probably beyond the technological capabilities of the period.

Bentham's panopticon is a prominent building in the literature regarding the evolution of prison architecture, yet it had little immediate impact on architectural designs. Details of it were known to few people as his writings on the subject were mostly unpublished until 1811. The lack of awareness of Bentham's ideas is illustrated by the fact that Sir George Onesiphorus Paul had not heard of the panopticon.[19] Although his prison was never erected according to his designs, large rotunda prisons were built in Holland, Cuba and in America. A panopticon prison was erected by Étienne Dumont in Geneva but this was demolished in 1862.[20]

In England the closest approximation to a panopticon design was the female penitentiary wing (K wing) erected at Lancaster Castle (Figs 3.7 and 3.8). It was designed by Joseph Michael Gandy, and was built between 1818 and 1821. The prison is a half-rotunda, constructed of ashlar and has five storeys and a basement. The plan published by the SIPD in 1826 shows that the central, projecting room on the ground floor was for the matron, with an inspector's room above and a storeroom in the basement below.[21] Of the eleven cell spaces on the ground floor, nine were cells, one housed the staircase and the other provided a link to the debtors' prison. There are octagonal pillars between each cell and a ring of six pillars around the central area. On the four lower floors there were formerly open bars between the pillars, allowing clear visibility from the central rooms into the cells. The bars now have timber behind them to provide privacy. In 1877, the central block was still a series of officers' rooms, but subsequently a staircase was inserted in this space.[22] This may seem a minor architectural influence but Bentham's true legacy may lie in Pentonville and the great Victorian radial prisons. Although he would not have enthused about their plan, their system of transparent management may have been derived ultimately from his writings. In the 1990s a type of prison unit known as the DOW I, or 'Bedford Unit' (*see* Chapter 9), employed a panopticon-type arrangement, with cells on three sides and an observation tower with offices on the fourth (*see* Fig 9.29).

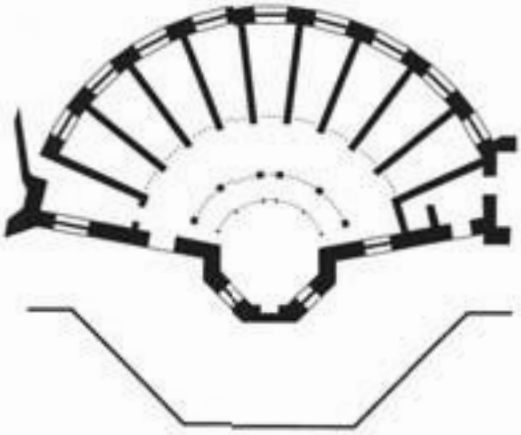


Figure 3.7
HMP Lancaster, Lancashire. Plan of Lancaster female penitentiary, now K wing. 1818–21. J M Gandy. [Redrawn from SIPD 1826]

Figure 3.8
HMP Lancaster, Lancashire. Female penitentiary, now K wing. 1818–21. J M Gandy. This small block is the only example of a cell block that owes a debt to Bentham's ideas. [AA95/05564]

Millbank

In 1810 a Select Committee of the House of Commons was established under the chairmanship of George Holford to examine the laws relating to penitentiary houses. The committee considered evidence from Sir George Onesiphorus Paul and the Revd John Becher regarding the systems of discipline that they enforced at Gloucester Penitentiary and Southwell House of Correction.

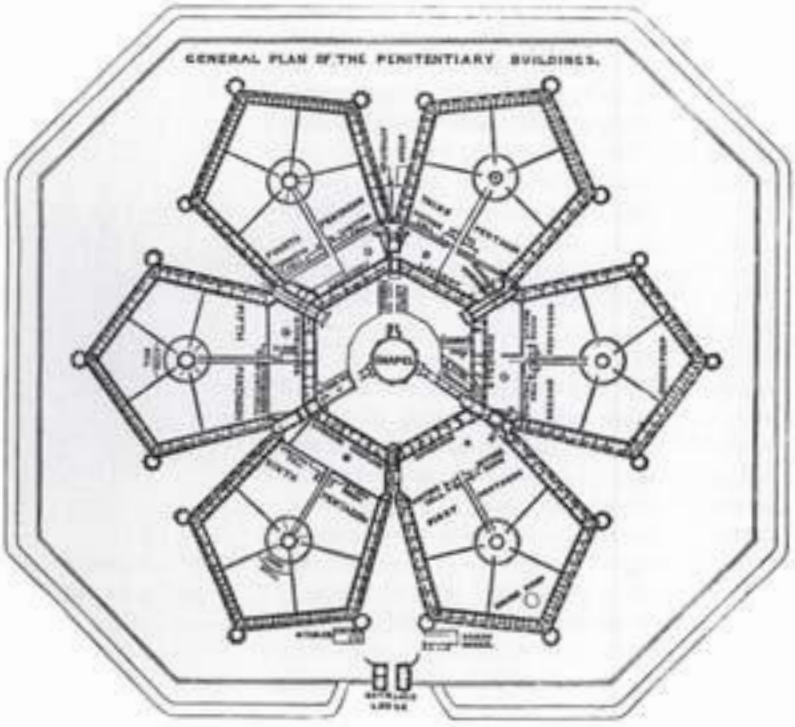


Figure 3.9
Millbank Penitentiary, London. Plan. 1812–21. William Williams and Thomas Hardwick. [From Mayhew and Binny 1862; BB97/09686]

Jeremy Bentham also gave evidence about his involvement with the panopticon in the 1790s and how he foresaw its future development.[23] The outcome of the committee in September 1811 was the recommendation of the establishment of a single, purpose-built institution that would promote reformation through religious reflection and labour.[24] George Holford wrote in 1825:

> 'Thanks be to those who plann's
> these silent cells,
> Where Sorrow's true-born child,
> Repentance, dwells'[25]

The first part of the inmate's sentence was to be spent in seclusion, except at periods when they were working at the 'mills or water-machines', washing, attending chapel or exercising.[26] This lasted for less than half the prisoner's sentence after which they moved to the second stage which permitted work in association with a small number of other inmates. This staged system was effectively a period based on the regime practised at Gloucester Penitentiary, followed by one inspired by Southwell.[27] In March 1832 the second stage was abolished.[28]

A committee consisting of Holford, Becher and Charles Long was appointed to supervise the erection of the prison and following a national competition, in which there were forty-three entries, the first prize was awarded to William Williams (Fig 3.9). Revisions were made to the plan in consultation with Thomas Hardwick, who had won the prize for the female penitentiary in the 1782 National Penitentiary competition. The initial design was for 600 prisoners but following alterations during its construction the capacity rose to 1,000. It was originally estimated to cost £302,415 but by the time it was completed more than £450,000 had been spent. At the end of 1812 the perimeter wall was being built and by the summer of 1813 the first part of the prison was in progress. Due to problems with the soft ground there were constant delays and setbacks. Nevertheless, by 9 February 1816 the committee reported that the first inmates could be accommodated though it was not until 27 June that thirty-six females from Newgate arrived.[29] In September 1816 cracks appeared in the buildings, requiring the demolition and reconstruction of three towers. By 1819 it was still only capable of holding 109 male and 123 female inmates but within three months accommodation for 400 was expected to be ready.[30] The prison was completed in 1821. Millbank continued to be a penitentiary until 1843, when it became a convict depot. At this time it was criticised by the Prison Inspectors as 'an entire failure'.[31] In 1886 Millbank ceased to hold inmates sentenced to penal servitude and it closed in 1890.[32] The 'gloomy and depressing institution' was demolished in 1903 (Fig 3.10).[33] The current Prison Service Headquarters buildings, Abell House and Cleland House, and the Tate Gallery occupy its site.

Major Griffiths, the Deputy Governor of Millbank, described 'The Penitentiary' in 1884 as 'a six-pointed star-fort; built, say, against catapults and old-fashioned engines of war'.[34] The central hexagon contained accommodation for the governor, chaplain, surgeon, matron and steward as well as the laundry and bakehouse. The circular chapel was in the centre of the hexagon. Around the hexagon were six pentagonal complexes of wings with circular towers at the corners between ranges. The cell blocks were of three storeys and had a single line of cells on the inside of the range with corridors around the outside. At the centre of each pentagon was a circular inspection tower from which the five yards and the surrounding buildings could be observed.

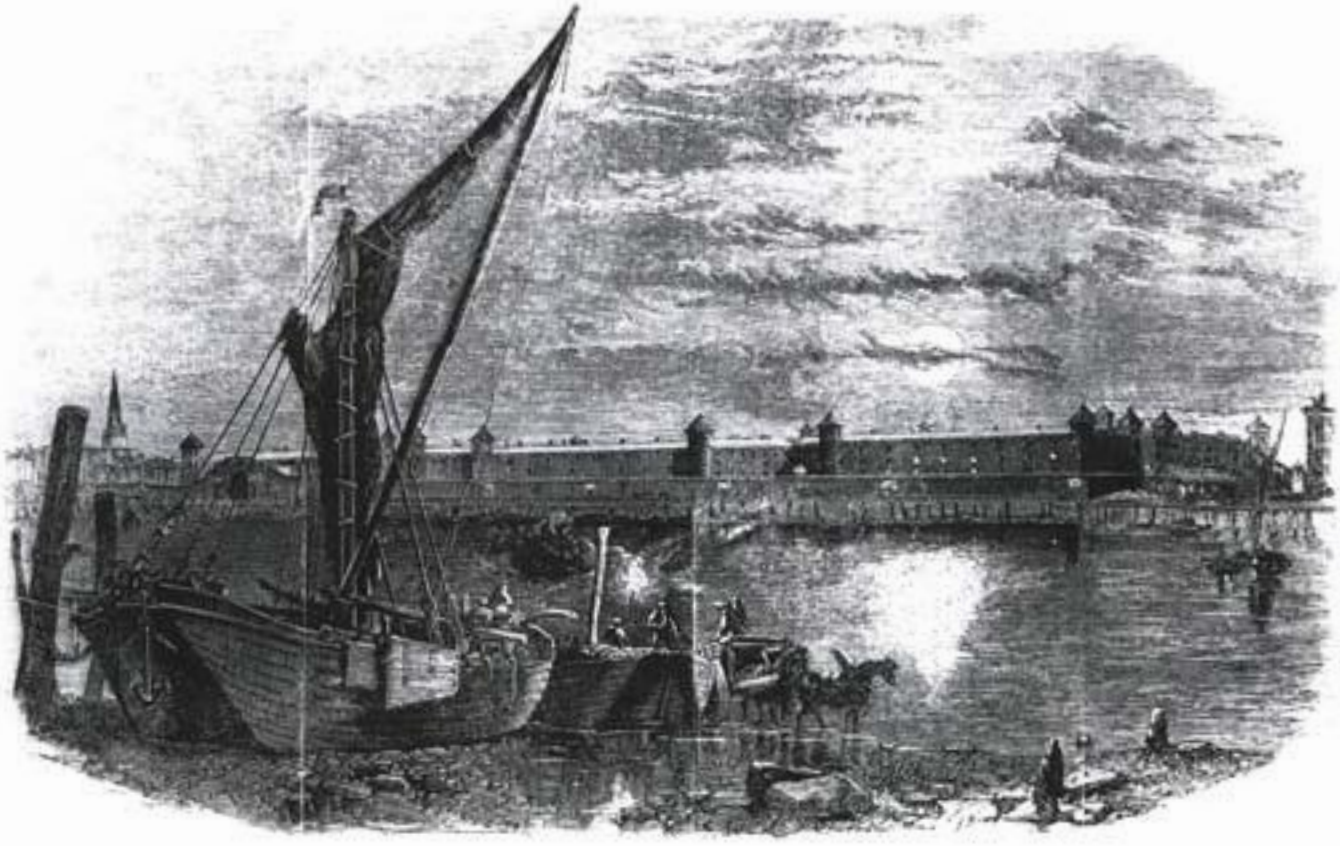


Figure 3.10
Millbank Penitentiary, London. General view. This huge complex occupied a substantial site on the north bank of the Thames and was the largest prison built in the early 19th century. Few prisons today could hold as many inmates. [From Mayhew and Binny 1862; BB97/09666]

The Gaol Acts and the classification of prisoners

The problems with the construction and subsequent management of Millbank may explain why central government did not become directly involved with another national prison until Pentonville in the early 1840s. Instead it sought to regulate local prisons through two Acts of Parliament passed in 1823 and 1824.[35] The 1823 Gaols Act, which repealed sixteen previous Acts, provided a framework for central government to impose uniform standards of management on the largest locally administered prisons.[36] It recognised that the distinction between houses of correction and county gaols was not always obvious and contained rules for the classification of inmates if they shared the same building. Regulations regarding diet, paying staff, preventing the sale of alcohol and gaming, and improving hygiene, which had appeared in previous Acts, were repeated. The 1823 Act also reiterated the responsibility of the JPs for the condition of prisons and recommended that they:

> adopt such Plans as shall afford the most effectual Means for the Security, Classification, Health, Inspection, Employment, and Religious and Moral Instruction of the Prisoners; the Building shall be so constructed or applied, and the Keepers and Officers Appartments so situated, as may best ensure the Safety of the Prison, and facilitate the Control and Superintendence of those committed thereto.

Each class of prisoner was to have a distinct ward and airing yard and there were to be separate male and female infirmaries, baths and a chapel. Each prisoner should have a separate sleeping cell fitted with a bed or hammock, and rooms for labour and industry were to be provided. Prisoners sentenced to hard labour were expected to work for up to ten hours per day.

In 1824 the Act was amended, apparently prompted by a recognition that the original provisions would prove too expensive for cities or boroughs. It allowed municipal authorities, liberties or ports to make a contract with JPs responsible for county houses of correction or county gaols to accommodate their prisoners. It also included a provision allowing money to be

borrowed to rebuild gaols. Untried prisoners could only work with their consent and they were expressly forbidden from working on a treadwheel. The 1824 Act also provided a revised system of classification and permitted the chapel and infirmaries to be shared when the gaol and house of correction occupied the same site. The two Acts provided a uniform and unified set of regulations for local prisons, but there was little in their detail that differed from earlier legislation. However, they did introduce systematic annual reporting, allowing central government the first regular accounts of the management of English prisons. They also codified the system for classifying prisoners that had developed in the first quarter of the 19th century.

The congregate or associated system of prison discipline was the main penal regime in the early 19th century. Prisoners were detained within areas of the prison along with other offenders of the same category.

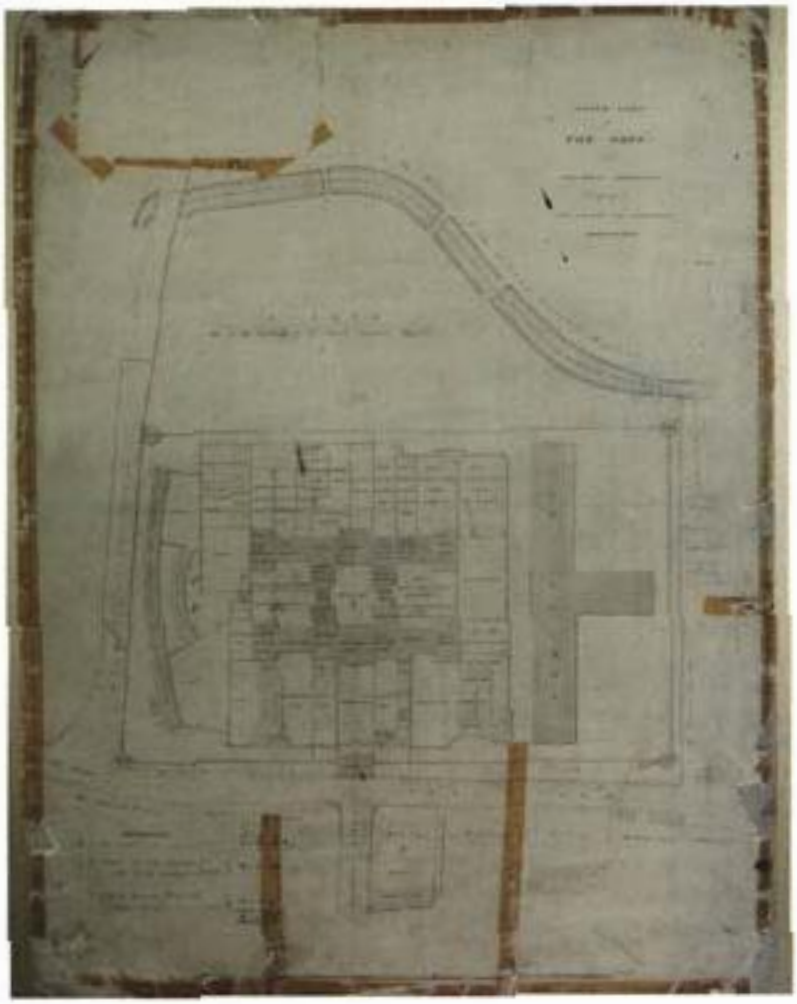


Figure 3.11
HMP Stafford, Staffordshire. Plan of c 1850. [AA95/05846]

By night, inmates slept in their own sleeping cells while by day they were permitted to work and exercise in association with other inmates in their class. The same classification also extended to the chapel. Although it had been recognised as early as the 13th century that male and female prisoners should be kept separate, it was John Howard in *The State of the Prisons* who defined a more sophisticated classification scheme. He advocated that a gaol should hold felons and debtors separately from juveniles, and males should be separate from female prisoners. He recommended that misdemeanants should be in a separate house of correction though he realised that this was often in the same location as the gaol. Therefore, he advocated the need to detain up to eight categories of offender separately in a prison.

During the late 18th and early 19th centuries, this simple system became generally more elaborate by subdividing the original categories according to the seriousness of the offence. The prison at Shrewsbury was to have thirteen classes in 1786, but this had risen to seventeen by 1797 and by 1834 twenty-six categories were specified.[17] Most large county gaols had more than ten categories by the 1820s while the extreme example is Maidstone, which could detain thirty categories of male prisoner and eight female classes. The 1823 Gaol Act specified that male and female inmates had to be held separately and each sex was to be further divided in a gaol into five categories. There were also five categories for houses of correction if they were separate from the gaol. The 1823 Act did not specify a particularly elaborate system of classification, probably as it was expected to be applied to small prisons as well as to large county gaols. However, Thomas le Breton in 1822 proposed that combined county gaols and houses of correction should have more than twenty categories while George Holford in 1821 advocated twenty-one categories for male offenders alone.[18] Although an apparently desirable aim, the effect of more complex classification was to duplicate facilities and to fragment the layout of the yards and the buildings. This effect is clear at Stafford where the prison had been subdivided to provide yards for thirteen categories (Fig 3.11). Prisons built in the late 18th and early 19th centuries to enforce a simpler system were to prove

ill-suited to endless subdivision, and this was one factor that prompted a wholesale re-evaluation of prison discipline and therefore penal architecture in the 1830s.

Detached radial plans, 1800–1835

During the first third of the 19th century the detached radial plan was employed for most large-scale prison projects (Fig 3.12). It consisted of a number of wings arranged around a central building which contained accommodation for the governor, the committee room and the chapel. The hub was polygonal or circular in plan to allow the supervision of the yards around the house. Each wing contained dayrooms and workrooms on the ground floor with sleeping cells on the floors above. They were attached to the central block only by iron walkways that allowed direct access from the sleeping cells to the chapel. The wings normally held two classes of inmate, an arrangement achieved by splitting the blocks with a spine wall. On either side of this wall were narrow passages from which the cells opened, therefore requiring pairs of doors in the ends of the wings. This arrangement is known from numerous plans and paired doors survive at HMP Maidstone, HMP Leicester and at Huntingdon. The ground floor, which housed workrooms and dayrooms, was also split by a spine wall and the two classes of inmate in each wing had their own exercise yards. This type of longitudinal division first appears in Howard's plan for a county gaol in 1777 and was adopted by Steuart and Cockburn in their proposed plan for the Edinburgh Bridewell in 1782.[39] The two earliest buildings to employ longitudinal divisions were the county bridewell and the county gaol in Winchester.

The detached radial plan was anticipated in Blackburn's design of the Liverpool Borough Gaol, which is supposed to be derived from his scheme for the National Penitentiary. However, it was George Byfield who produced the earliest examples of the fully developed plan at the beginning of the 19th century. He designed four prisons during the first decade of the 19th century and was a member of the committee managing the erection of the new county gaol at Maidstone. He became involved with the design of three prisons in about 1801. The county gaols at Bury St Edmunds (Suffolk) and Cambridge were rapidly completed but after considerable delays to the project to rebuild Worcester County Gaol, an alternative scheme by Francis Sandys was executed. Between 1806 and 1808 Byfield designed the new county gaol at Canterbury, and this probably explains his involvement with Maidstone. His designs were based on the detached radial plan with each of the centre blocks being octagonal with alternating long and short sides. Each face contained windows to oversee the surrounding yards and buildings. His design for a new county gaol in Cambridge beside the castle consisted of four wings radiating from a detached central governor's house.[40] The centre house contained rooms for the governor with the chapel on the first floor, and this was linked by iron walkways to the wings. The gatehouse contained rooms for the turnkey and for infected prisoners.

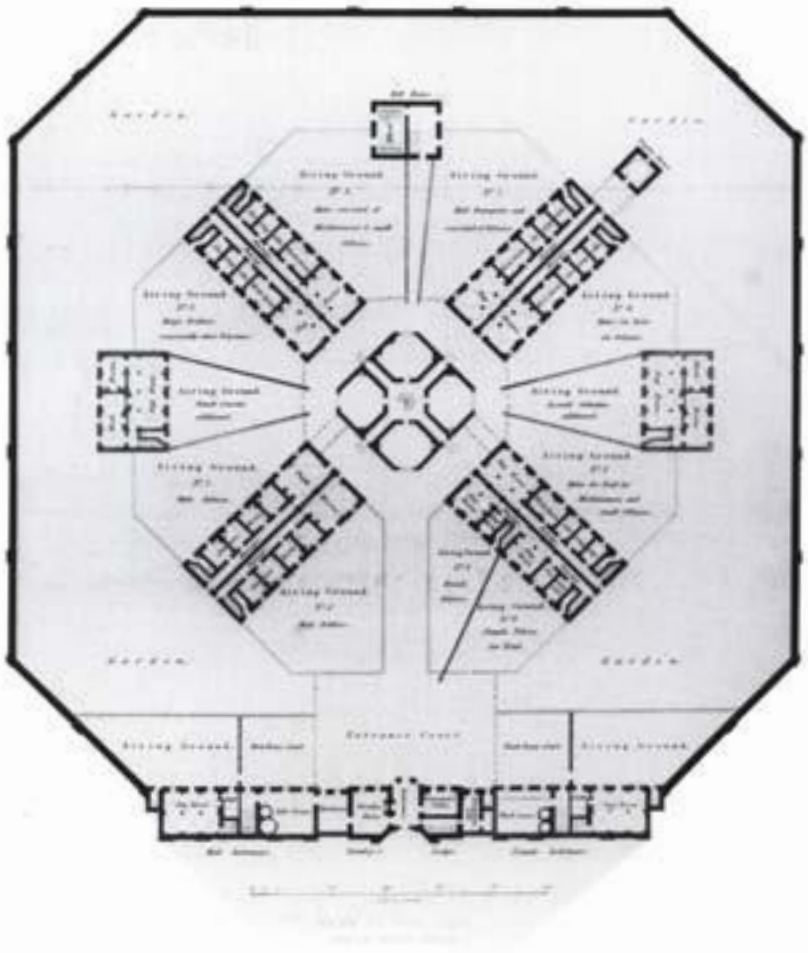


Figure 3.12
Bury St Edmunds County Gaol, Suffolk. Plan. 1801–5. George Byfield. [From Orridge 1819; by permission of the British Library 10350 g.2]

Figure 3.13
Bury St Edmunds County Gaol, Suffolk. Former governor's house. 1801–5. George Byfield. The former governor's house, now a private house, and the front gate of this prison survive. The plan of the house allowed supervision of the whole prison. [AA97/01670]

The appointment of John Orridge as Governor of Bury St Edmunds in 1798 seems to have prompted the decision to build the new county gaol and a scheme for it was published in 1801.[41] It is signed by Arthur Brown, who proposed a circular design with cells arranged around a courtyard divided into eight yards.[42] This grandiose but impractical design was not executed. Instead the new county gaol was built according to designs by Byfield and was in use by 1805.[43] The only buildings to survive today are the governor's house and the front elevation of the gatehouse range, but the form of the prison is well documented (Fig 3.13). John Orridge published a book in 1819 about the ideas behind the design and the management of the prison. He discussed security, classification, the importance of constant inspection and the desirability of cleanliness and ventilation.[44] The need for appropriate working areas, a chapel, a schoolroom and infirmaries was also noted and he recommended the provision of exercise space that could be used in wet weather. In these observations he was largely repeating ideas developed by John Howard in the 1770s.

At the centre of the prison was the governor's house, which included a chapel on the upper floors (*see* Fig 3.13). Four detached wings, each accommodating two classes of inmate, radiated from the house but by 1819 half of one of the wings was further subdivided to house both female felons and female debtors. In 1819 the intention was to add two smaller blocks to hold female convicts and juvenile offenders, and later maps show that they were built. The entrance range consisted of a central gate flanked by a turnkey's room and governor's office. It also included other rooms for the turnkey, a reception room to clean prisoners and two cells to hold inmates who arrived at the prison at night. Flanking the gate was a wash-house and brewhouse, with dayrooms beyond these. The gatehouse was of three storeys but its outside, public face cleverly implies a monumental single-storeyed gate.

The early 19th-century county gaol at Worcester is traditionally attributed to George Byfield who was succeeded as architect in 1809 by Francis Sandys.[45] It is said to have been designed in 1802 and was finally completed in 1813. Two versions of plans by Byfield, dated 1801 and 1802, survive and these have been reproduced as being the plan of the prison.[46] However, it appears that Byfield's scheme was never executed and that Sandys was the architect of the prison that was built.[47] By 1801 there was disquiet about the state of the prison and Byfield drew up plans for a new gaol in that year and again in 1802.[48] In both schemes there was a dodecagonal central building containing offices, a committee room, and keeper's accommodation with a chapel on the upper floor. Around it were six detached wings, which were linked by walkways to the chapel on the upper floor. The difference between the two designs is in the length of some of the wings. Between the original 1801 scheme and the modified 1802 proposal the estimate of the likely number of inmates must have been re-examined, leading to the adoption of the smaller scheme for 121 instead of 146 inmates.[49]

After initial approval for Byfield's revised plan work did not proceed. This was a result of indecision over whether to use

his reduced plan on a new site at a cost of no more than £20,000, or rebuild the existing prison at less than £10,000. The reduction in size had led to a saving of £2,000.[50] However, it also caused a protracted dispute between Byfield and the magistrates as his fees had been set as a percentage of the cost of the project and the scaling down of the scheme would lead to a reduced fee. Arbitration was agreed and on 29 June 1804 the arbitrators ruled that Byfield should be paid an extra £310 10s in addition to the £200 that he had already received. This dispute meant that no work was undertaken until the scheme was revived in 1808. To manage the project a separate Order Book was started at the Quarter Session of *12–14 July 1808*.[51] At their first meeting the committee examined a plan by Francis Sandys presented to the county by Mr James Neild and received a report on the state of the gaol from the gaoler. They also examined the plan that had previously been prepared by Byfield and asked Sandys to choose a suitable site. At their next meeting on 25 July 1808 they examined both schemes and heard that Sandys had selected a site. By 10 December the committee had received Byfield's estimate and a new set of plans that they preferred to his earlier ones but at the Epiphany Session in 1809 the committee adopted Sandys' plan. The contract with the builder, William Firmadge from Leicester, was signed on 21 April 1809 and work was to be completed by Michaelmas 1813, though it was actually finished by the Epiphany Session in 1813.[52]

By October 1804 the gaol and house of correction in Canterbury was recognised to be inadequate.[53] A committee of East Kent Justices was formed to oversee its reconstruction and in January 1805 they decided to build the new prison on a more convenient site. Byfield was appointed as architect with a brief to design a gaol and house of correction for fifty inmates and a new sessions house. He produced a set of plans for a prison costing an estimated £13,190 and a sessions house costing £5,549, which led to a number of alterations being made to his brief. In March it was decided that the new prison would hold only forty-eight, but by April this figure had been further reduced to forty, but with space for future expansion. In June 1805 the Justices started to acquire land on which to build the new prison and advertised for tenders for the building work. The committee selected James Donaldson's tender but because he was very young, they wrote to his father requesting him to be the responsible party in the contract. Donaldson withdrew his proposal, and instead the committee accepted Charles Hedge's tender. On 15 July 1806 a second agreement was made between Charles Hedge and the Kent Justices.[54] It specified that Hedge was to receive a total of £12,380 for the work and that the prison was to be completed by 6 April 1808. A set of drawings by Byfield survives.[55] Originally twenty-three in number, they include plans, sections, elevations and details. The plans are for a gaol and house of correction for forty-one prisoners, eleven in the gaol and thirty in the house of correction. The central, three-storey octagonal building contained the governor's house with the chapel occupying part of the original, tall, first floor (Fig 3.14). The short sides of the

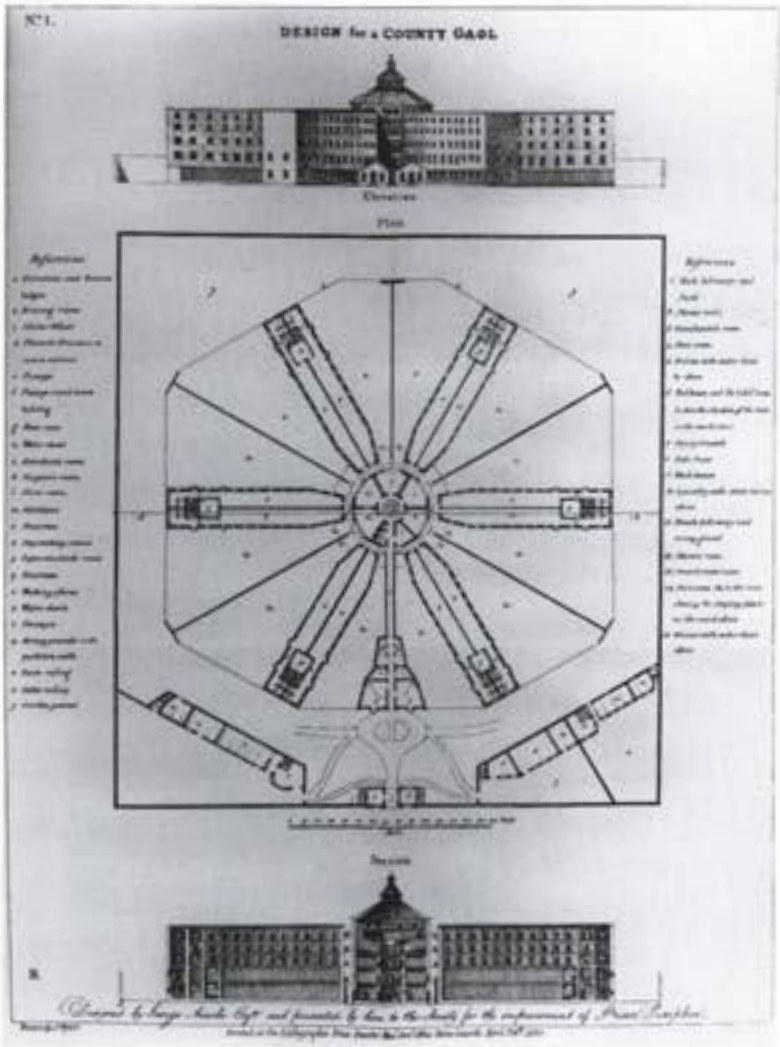
Figure 3.14
HMP Canterbury, Kent. Former governor's house, 1806–8. George Byfield. The house now contains offices and is linked to later wings added to the side and rear.
[AA95/05649]

house project from the main body of the building. Radiating out from it were three detached wings. The east and west wings had two storeys and the north wing had three floor levels. As in his other prisons the wings were divided in half by a central longitudinal wall to allow them to hold two classes of inmates.

The spread of radial plans

Byfield's four prison designs represent the earliest examples of fully developed detached radial plans. More than twenty prisons were built on this plan and a further tribute to its perceived qualities is the number of writers who chose it as the basis of their model plans. Thomas Cubitt, Thomas le Breton, George Holford and George Ainslie all produced detached radial plans (Fig 3.15) and John Orridge's plan for a prison for the Emperor of Russia was derived from Byfield's Bury St Edmunds' plan.[56] However, the greatest tribute was paid by the SIPD, which adopted it as the architectural expression of their principles. In 1826 they published *Remarks on the Form and Construction of Prisons* in an attempt to establish general principles for architects and promote the twin virtues of inspection and classification. This type of plan permitted 'an extensive degree of classification, combined with an effectual separation of the various classes' and the detached buildings permitted air to flow around them.[57] To accommodate more prisoners, more radial buildings could be added. At other prisons a larger population was simply accommodated in larger wings. The SIPD report was illustrated with plans of prisons built since the 1780s to illustrate the merits of radial plans compared with the deficiencies of other types. It also contained a series of schematic plans showing how to produce radial plans with between three and seven wings, and with more than one hub. The report also included more detailed floor plans for a prison to house 50 prisoners and another for 200 inmates. The smaller prison was a three-wing radial with the wings attached to the centre hub. The larger scheme consisted of six detached wings around a circular building with walkways linking the wings to the chapel in the upper part of the centre building. The architect of these schemes was George Thomas Bullar.

Figure 3.15
Design for a county gaol by George Ainslie for the SIPD. 1819. [From PP *1819 (579) VII]*



The SIPD report was not advocating a new architectural approach but was recognising the form that had been predominant in penal architecture since 1800. The earliest examples after Byfield's early prisons were the houses of correction at Exeter (1807–9) by George Moneypenny and Southwell, designed in 1807 by Richard Ingleman. Moneypenny had already designed prison buildings at Leicester and Winchester. The county gaol at Leicester (1790–4) was a small cruciform prison with a grand façade.[58] Its modest plan was a result of the small site that was available but on the façade he was able to adopt a grand architecture with his name prominently displayed on it. His other early prison was the extension of the county gaol at Winchester, designed in 1805.[59] Moneypenny's design of the Exeter House of Correction was much more sophisticated than his two previous designs, suggesting that he had been influenced by recent developments. Richard Ingleman,

who designed the new Southwell House of Correction, admitted his debt to Byfield. To secure the commission for the new county gaol at Devizes in 1808, he produced *An Explanation of the Plans for a House of Correction at Southwell*. In it he described his visit to Mr Neild in London who gave him a letter to take to John Orridge at Bury St Edmunds.[60] Orridge's son then took him to see the prison being built at Cambridge.

The early detached radial prisons had three or four wings around the central house and this became the standard number for most of the new prisons (Table 3.1 and Fig 3.16). However, as the prison population grew the number of the wings and their size increased so that at Leicester there were six wings while Chelmsford and the first Derby proposal had seven. The number of classes into which the prison population was to be divided also meant that the number of wings increased. A more dramatic enlargement could be achieved by increasing the number of hubs from which wings radiated, and this approach was first employed in the design of the county gaol at Maidstone.

In 1806 a committee was appointed to manage the project and George Byfield joined them to advise on the architecture. A proposal for a bridewell for 200 prisoners was agreed but a four-year delay followed while funds were raised. An Act passed in 1809 allowed a higher rate to be levied and on 12 May 1810 it was agreed that the project could proceed. Daniel Asher Alexander had replaced Byfield as the architect on the committee, and rather than advertise for plans to be submitted, they adopted designs

Table 3.1 Detached Radial Prisons – major examples built 1800–35

Name	*No. of wings*	*Date built*	*Architect*
Cambridge County Gaol	4	*1801*	*George Byfield*
Worcester proposals	6	1801, 1802	George Byfield
Bury St Edmunds County Gaol	4	1801–5	George Byfield
Canterbury County Gaol and House of Correction	3	1805–8	George Byfield
Beverley House of Correction	4	1805–10 and later	-
Southwell House of Correction	3	1807 (finish date unknown)	Richard Ingleman
Exeter House of Correction	3	1807–9	George Moneypenny
Worcester County Gaol	?	1808–13	Francis Sandys
York City House of Correction	3	1814/15 (finish date unknown)	Peter Atkinson junior
Bristol County Gaol Scheme A	4	1816	Henry Hake Seward
Bristol County Gaol Scheme C	4	1816	Henry Hake Seward
Bristol County Gaol as executed (Scheme B)	4	1816 (finish date unknown)	Henry Hake Seward
Knutsford House of Correction	4	1817–18 and later	George Moneypenny
Tothill Fields projects	3	1819	Various
Plan for Russian Emperor	6	1819	John Orridge
Le Breton scheme	5	1822	Thomas le Breton
Chelmsford County Gaol and House of Correction	7	1822–8	Thomas Hopper
Norwich County Gaol	3	1822–8	William Wilkins
Cubitt scheme for 400-inmate prison	14	1823	Thomas Cubitt
Derby first proposal	7	1823	Francis Goodwin
Carlisle County Gaol	6	1823–7	William Nixon/ Christopher Hodgson
Derby County Gaol and House of Correction	6	1823–7	Francis Goodwin
Newcastle Town and County Gaol	6	1823–8	John Dobson
Norwich City Gaol	4	1824–7	Richard Brown
Leicester County Gaol	6	1824–8	William Parsons
Huntingdon County Gaol and House of Correction	3	1826–8	William Wilkins
York Castle County Gaol	4	1826–35	-
Holford Scheme	6	1828	George Holford
Ilford House of Correction	4	1828–31	Thomas Hopper
Hull Borough Gaol and House of Correction	5	1830	John Earle
Darlinghurst Gaol, East Sydney	7	1835	George Barney and Mortimer Lewis
Colchester House of Correction	-	finished 1835	-

Figure 3.16
Bristol County Gaol. View of proposal 'B' prepared in November 1816. Henry Hake Seward. This idyllic pastoral view does not show the city, which was immediately behind the gaol. [From Bristol RO; BB97/03825]

produced by Alexander. On 2 October 1810 the committee selected a site and by the autumn of 1811 its purchase had been agreed.[61] In January 1811 Alexander presented his plans to the Justices.[62] He estimated that the prison would cost £163,457 and as the scheme was so costly it was decided to spread the construction programme over twelve years. It was the second most expensive prison built in the early 19th century, being surpassed only by Millbank which cost almost £500,000. On 8 March 1819 141 debtors and felons were moved from the King Street prison and in November 1819 the bridewell inmates also moved into the new building.[63] However, work continued on the site until 1822. By 1823 the cost of the project had risen to £215,664 19s 7d.[64]

At the centre of the prison was a four-storey, circular tower (Figs 3.17 and 3.18). The lower two storeys were offices and accommodation for the keeper with the chapel occupying the top storeys. Extending to the north, east and south there were cruciform complexes of cell blocks with a turnkey's tower at the heart of each cross (Fig 3.19). Each block was physically separate from all others though at the first- and second-floor levels they were linked by iron walkways. Each wing was split longitudinally by a wall to allow two classes of inmate to share a floor and in some of the end walls of wings the paired doors can still be seen. The ground floors were mostly open arcades with some dayrooms and workrooms. The only parts of Alexander's prison to survive are the blocks that formed the southern cross and the large roundhouse that lay at the centre of the complex. The plan of Maidstone reflects an obsessive interest with the strict separation of categories of offender. The isolation of the wings and the longitudinal division were devices to enforce this system, a policy that contributed to the enormous cost of the project. Evans describes this repetitive splitting as 'mitosis' and likens it to Millbank.[65] A closer parallel seems to lie in the design that John Soane produced for the National Penitentiary competition in 1782 which also envisaged three separate crosses, each consisting of four L-shaped blocks. The National Penitentiary was never constructed and Soane's design was not the winning entry. However, Alexander may have known it as Soane discussed his entry in one of his Royal Academy lectures that began in 1809.[66]

Figure 3.17 (opposite)
HMP Maidstone, Kent. Former governor's house, 1810–23. Daniel Asher Alexander. The monumental tower at the heart of this huge prison is still in use as offices. [AA95/05934]

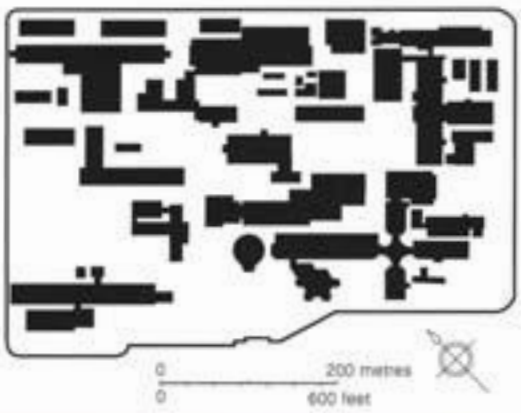


Figure 3.18
HMP Maidstone, Kent. Block plan today.

Figure 3.19
Subsidiary central block at HMP Maidstone, Kent. 1810–23. Daniel Asher Alexander. Originally this block was physically separate from the wings. [AA95/05937]

Maidstone introduced the idea of the multiple hub and a plan of this type was published in 1826 by the SIPD (Fig 3.20).[67] Their plan consisted of two hubs with four radiating wings in a semicircular arrangement. A version of this plan was adopted for the new bridewell at Tothill Fields in Westminster, built between 1829 and 1832 (Fig 3.21).[68] The executed design was by Robert Abraham but the forms of eight other rejected schemes are known. Five of these were versions of the radial plan with multiple hubs, while one is a radial with twelve blocks around a central complex of buildings including infirmaries, kitchens and two blocks for the superintendent. One of the schemes, submitted by 'ZZZ', was a rather fanciful arrangement of eight long narrow ranges emanating from a central octagon.

Alternative approaches to prison planning

Quadrangular plans

Tothill Fields and Maidstone were exceptional projects because of their size and therefore the complexity of their plan. Most of the schemes undertaken until the 1830s were for detached radials with three or four wings, although a few prisons were built using alternative designs. By 1625 a house of correction had been established at Shepton Mallet (Somerset) and in 1790 most of it was rebuilt. This prison was a haphazard group of buildings arranged along Cornhill, on the north side of the present site.[69] In January 1817 a proposal was made to retain and adapt the early blocks and to erect two narrow wings running south from them. The architect was George Allen Underwood, who was the County Surveyor for Somerset and Dorset. Sir John Cox Hippisley reported on 11 January 1819 that the prison would be ready early in 1820.[70] It consisted of four ranges around a courtyard and this arrangement survives today despite major rebuilding later in the 19th century (Figs 3.22 and 3.23). An Act for building a new courthouse and gaol in Aberdeen was passed in 1814 and the complex was begun in 1818. The prison had not been built by 1825 but by 1831 it was ready to receive prisoners. John Smith, the City Architect, designed it as a quadrangle behind the courthouse.[71] In the entrance front there was a range housing accommodation for the governor while the other three sides of the courtyard had airing yards on the ground floor. Above, there would have been a series of sleeping cells. At the centre of the courtyard there was a small circular building overlooking the yard, which was subdivided into six yards.

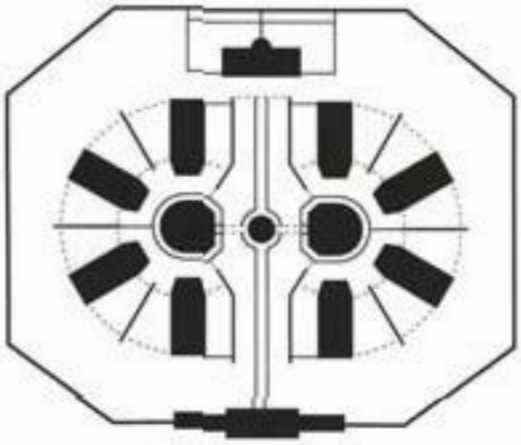


Figure 3.20 (top, left) Proposal for prison with two hubs. [Redrawn from SIPD 1826]

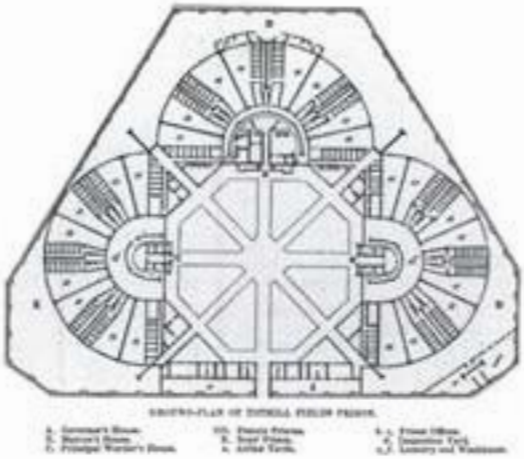
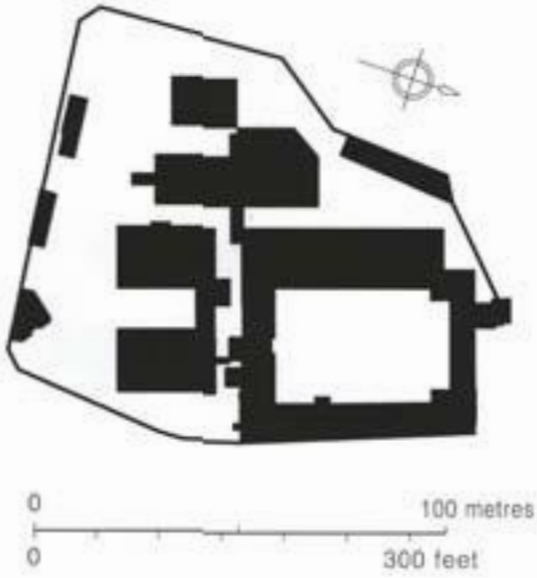


Figure 3.21 (top, right) Tothill Fields Prison, London. Plan. 1829–32. Robert Abraham. [From Mayhew and Binny 1862; BB97/09706]



Polygonal plans

Polygonal plans were the most common alternative to detached radials. Partly polygonal forms had been employed by William Blackburn at Northleach and by Thomas Harrison at Chester in the 1780s, and a similar arrangement was adopted at Durham. An Act of Parliament was passed in 1809 to allow the erection of the new prison and on 31 July 1809 the foundation stone was laid.[73] The courthouse was ready by 1811 but the prison was not completed until 1819. The project was started by Francis Sandys, continued by George Moneypenny and completed by Ignatius Bonomi. The only part of the present prison that belongs to this phase is the section known as B Wing North. It is of three storeys, built of ashlar and has a moulded,

Figure 3.22 HMP Shepton Mallet, Somerset. Block plan. 1817–20. George Allen Underwood.

Figure 3.23 HMP Shepton Mallet, Somerset. Courtyard at centre of prison looking towards the gate. 1817–20. George Allen Underwood. This large courtyard has the administration and gate on one side with cell blocks on the other three. [BB97/04657]

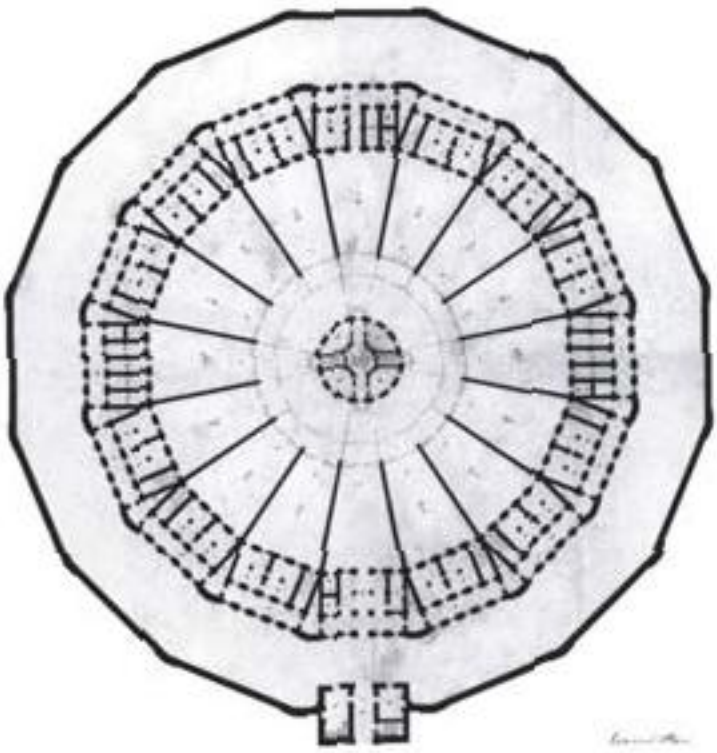


Figure 3.24
Devizes County Gaol, Wiltshire. Plan. [Wilts RO, A1 509/4; BB95/08288]

rather than dentilated, eaves cornice. The cells have barrel-vaulted stone ceilings whereas other wings have brick jack-arch ceilings. The ground floor of the early wing is taller than the upper storeys, an indication that it housed dayrooms and workrooms with sleeping cells on the upper floors.

Richard Ingleman designed a fully polygonal prison as the county gaol for Wiltshire at Devizes (Fig 3.24). He submitted a proposal to the gaol committee on 14 March 1808 and in support of it he sent two booklets that he had published about his work at Folkingham (Lincolnshire) and Southwell. Work began on the prison in 1810 and the incomplete prison opened in 1817. By 1821 the still unfinished prison could hold 130 inmates though the foundations existed for buildings that would house a further 50 inmates. The prison cost £40,207 19s 7d. Ingleman's design consisted of a sixteen-sided prison surrounding a series of yards.[73] At the centre was a circular building which contained offices with accommodation for the governor and taskmaster, while the attic housed a pair of infirmaries. Although sixteen blocks were proposed only ten were built originally but by 1867 an eleventh had been added. The ground floor contained a corridor that was continuous around the prison. The rest of the ground floor was occupied by working cells, dayrooms, sleeping rooms, stores and various service rooms. On the first floor the blocks forming the four cardinal points of the design were left as tall open arcades 'to supply free circulation of Air, as well as a place where the Prisoners may exercise in rainy weather'. A fifth section would have housed the chapel but it was never built. The other blocks contained sleeping cells flanking a central corridor.

Polygons were also the basis of Millbank's design and this was probably the main reason for a small group of partly polygonal plans being used after about 1818. The Surrey Justices decided to build a new house of correction at Brixton and in

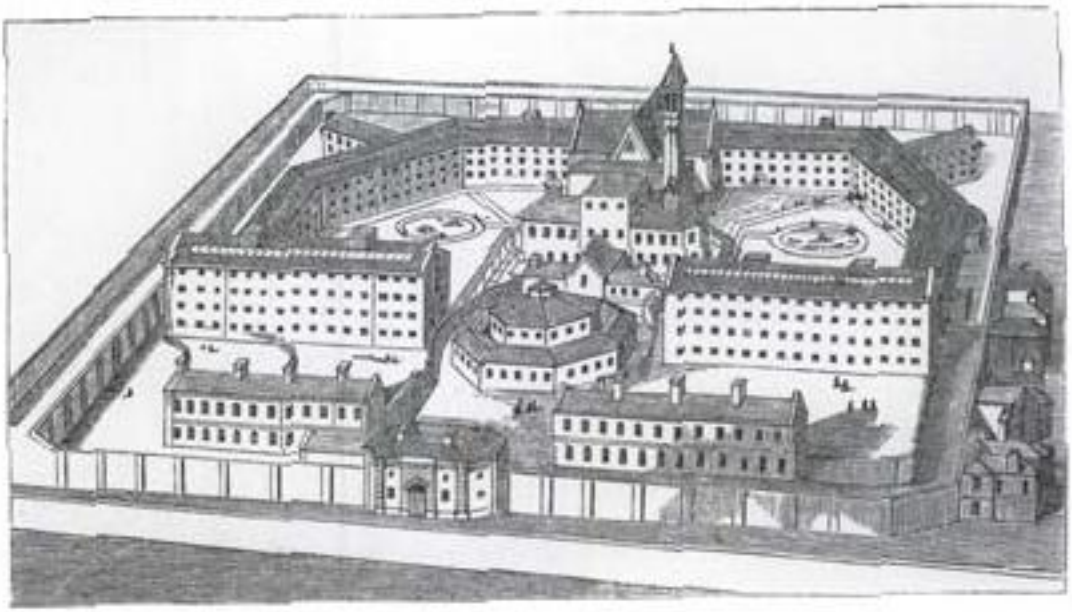


Figure 3.25
Brixton Convict Prison, now HMP Brixton, London. Bird's-eye view. 1819–1821. Thomas Chawner. Chawner's design allowed the governor's house to oversee the treadwheels in the yards within the polygonal cell blocks. [From Mayhew and Binny 1862; BB97/09673]

1819 Thomas Chawner, the County Surveyor, was commissioned to build it, at a cost of £51,780 17s 7d. It was designed to house 175 prisoners, accommodated in 149 single cells and 12 larger cells with 3 beds. Chawner's prison consisted of three-storeyed brick ranges arranged in a half octagon with a chapel in the centre of the ranges (Figs 3.25 and 3.26). The octagonal governor's house at the heart of the complex survives. Its location was determined by the desire to monitor the prisoners working on treadwheels in a series of narrow triangular airing yards that stretched from the house to the cell blocks.[74]

Chawner also rebuilt the house of correction at Guildford for the Surrey Justices using a plan similar to Brixton. The new prison with eighty-nine cells was ready in 1822. An early map of Guildford shows a block projecting from the central range of the prison that may have been the treadwheel shed. Brixton and Guildford seem to have been the inspiration for John Collingwood's design of the new county house of correction at Swansea, which opened on the present prison site in May 1829. No fabric from the early prison buildings survives above ground but its position and plan are known from two drawings at the prison.[75] They show a partly polygonal plan with a smaller building in the centre with a polygonal end facing the prison blocks. This was probably the bay window of the governor's house.

Several variations of the polygonal plan were proposed for the enlargement of the house of correction at Wakefield from about 1817 to 1819. In 1817 Bernard Hartley, Surveyor for the West Riding of Yorkshire, prepared three basic schemes, two of which had additional variations. One was for a three-sided rectangular block surrounding a series of yards between this addition and the original prison.[76] A variation was to include a large inverted U-plan block of workrooms to the north and a separate irregular, partly triangular prison to the east. Another variation was to omit the three-sided rectangular block and a fourth version contained a reduced design for the main block and the workroom complex is shown only in outline. By 1818 Hartley was proposing constructing an elongated octagonal plan. In yet another variation he included an irregular triangular block

Figure 3.26
HMP Brixton, London. Governor's house in centre of prison. 1819–1821. Thomas Chawner. This is the only complete building to survive from the original prison, although parts of the external walls of the early cell blocks have been incorporated into later wings. [BB97/12051]

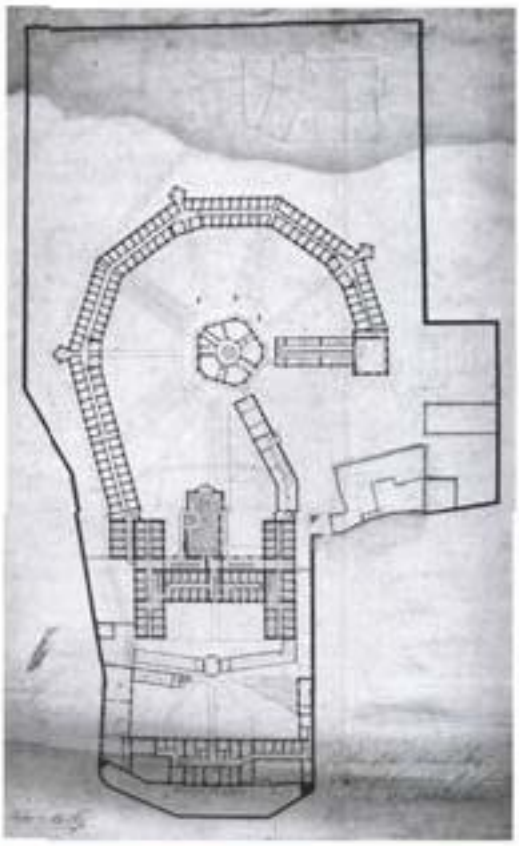


Figure 3.27 (right) Wakefield House of Correction, West Yorkshire. Scheme by Bernard Hartley, 1819. This proposal was the one executed for the enlargement of the house of correction. Hartley and Thomas Wright submitted a number of schemes using polygonal and curved plans. [WYorks Archive Service (Wakefield), QD3/387; AA95/06050]

Figure 3.28 (below) Wakefield House of Correction, West Yorkshire. Proposal by Thomas Wright of Salford, 1818. Although this scheme was not executed, Wright was able to develop his ideas on curved prison wings at Kirkdale. [WYorks Archive Service (Wakefield), QD1/697; AA95/06000]

that had appeared in the earlier proposal. The design that was actually carried out was a third major scheme by Bernard Hartley.[77] It was a mixture of three- and four-storeyed blocks with dayrooms on the ground floor and cells on the remaining floors. It was half-decagonal in plan with a long range linking it to the earlier building (Fig 3.27). At the centre there was a polygonal central block with yards radiating from it. A block containing treadwheels extended eastwards from this building and there were further radiating ranges of workrooms.

Curved plans

Thomas Wright of Salford also submitted a plan for the new prison at Wakefield that was not executed.[78] His design was curved in plan with two straight wings continuing from the ends of the block (Fig 3.28). Around the outside there were workrooms opening from a broad corridor. The main range had a mixture of cells and dayrooms on the ground floor while the two upper storeys contained only cells. The area inside the main block was to be divided into a series of segmental yards with a small

lodge at their junction. Wright became the architect of the county gaol and house of correction at Kirkdale in around 1820, where he employed a version of the curved plan that he had originally developed for Wakefield (Fig 3.29). The prison had two concentric semicircular ranges around a circular chapel with a separate governor's house at the front of the site.[79] In total there were 400 sleeping cells with dayrooms on the ground floor. In 1877 one of the old cell blocks was still in use as a treadwheel house and chapel.[80]

The only surviving prison building with a curved plan is the crescent wing at HMP Stafford, which was built between 1831 and 1834 (Fig 3.30 and *see* Fig 3.11).[81] It was originally three storeys high and 290ft (88.4m) long. It contained 114 cells and a series of 6 treadwheels were built to the south of it. The present crescent wing has the date 1864 on its decorative centrepiece, the date at which the earlier crescent was lengthened, raised and turned into a wing with cells on two sides of an open corridor. Curved plans were a variation on the part-polygonal plans that had been employed since the 1780s, but they probably enjoyed a brief vogue in prison designs because of contemporary developments in fashionable town planning.

Millbank seems to have been one reason for the revival of polygonal forms in the second decade of the 19th century. Another seems to have been a desire to develop a plan that could accommodate the newly invented treadwheels in a position that was both close to each cell block and visible from the governor's accommodation. Treadwheels provided prison administrators and architects with a device that allowed them to enforce hard labour for each category of prisoner. Although they were first installed at Bury St Edmunds, a radially planned prison, and were regularly built in prisons with similar plans, their prominence in many polygonal and curved plans suggests that they were one reason that prison architects experimented with other plan types.

Treadwheels

In 1818 Sir William Cubitt, 'an able and eminent engineer of Ipswich' patented a new type of treadwheel where prison inmates walked around the exterior of the cylinder on a series of steps.[82] It differed from earlier treadwheels where people walked around the interior or along the edge of the wheel. These had been in use in England throughout the Middle Ages as the motive power for the huge cranes required to build cathedrals and abbey churches (Fig 3.31). Treadwheels also powered the great cranes at ports, and there are examples known at York, Southampton and London.[83] Treadwheels appeared in at least one penal institution in the 16th century. A treadmill was installed at Bridewell to grind corn and special hand and foot mills were employed so that inmates with missing limbs could be forced to work.[84] Within the 1779 Penitentiary Act there was a provision for labour to be: 'of the hardest and most servile Kind, in which Drudgery is chiefly required ... such as treading in a wheel, or drawing in a Capstern, for turning a Mill or other Machine or Engine'. At Gloucester Gaol in

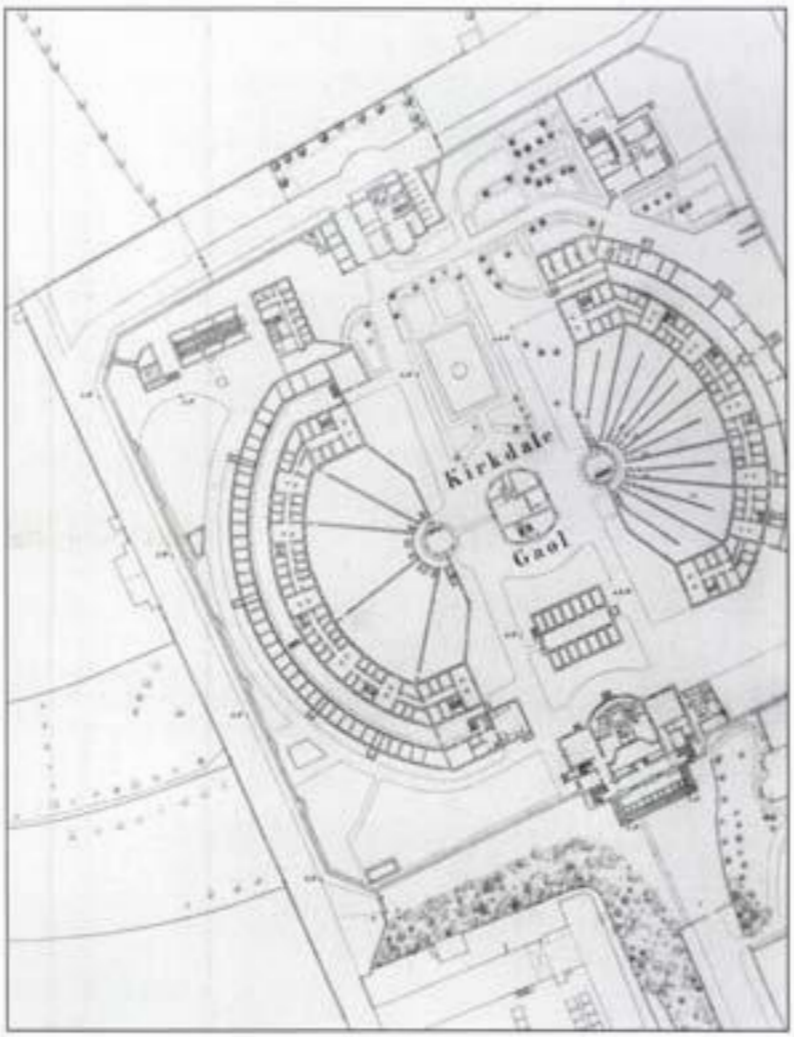
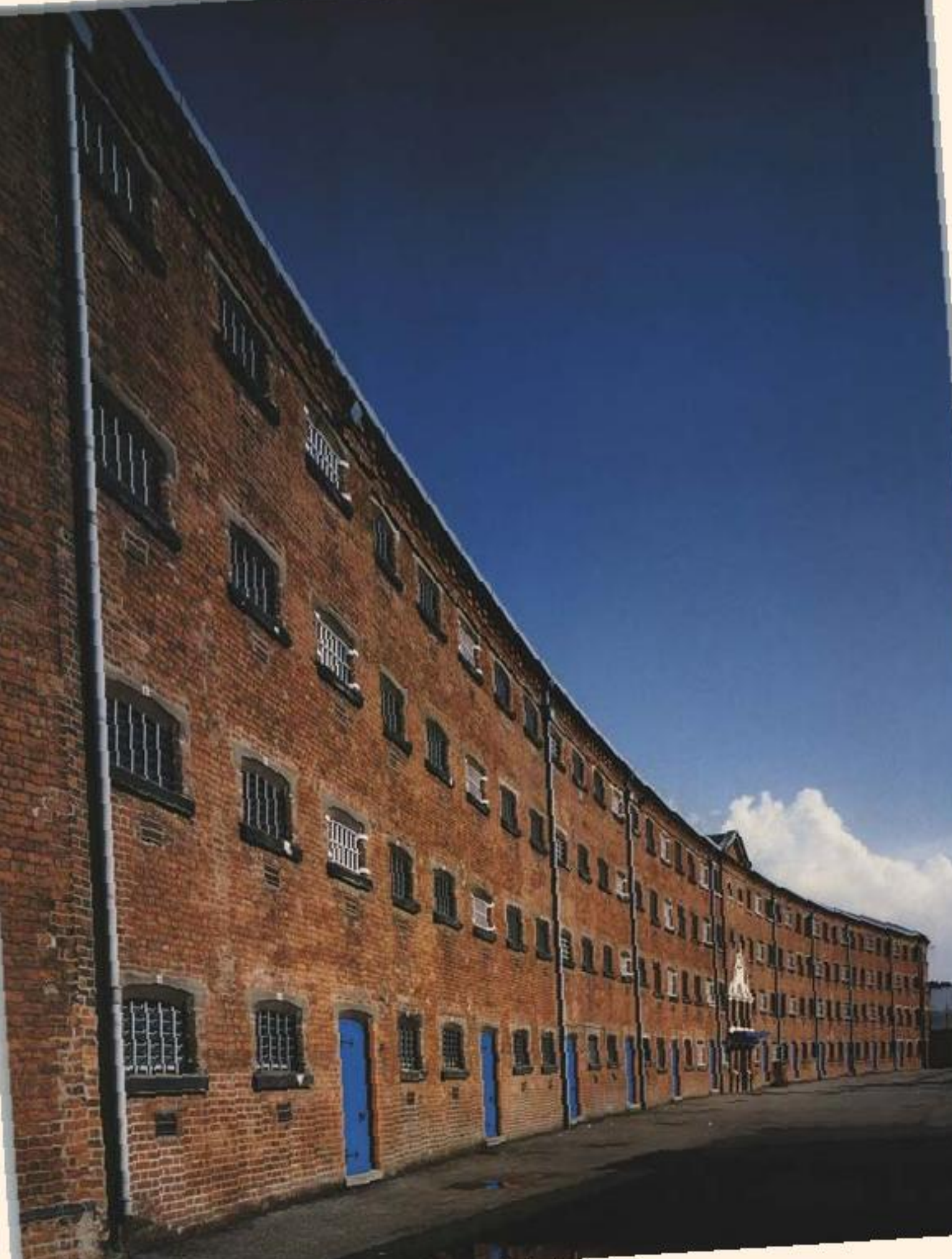


Figure 3.29
Kirkdale County Gaol, Liverpool, Merseyside. [Reproduced from the 1847–9 Ordnance Survey map, Liverpool 1:1056, sheet 4; by permission of the British Library OST 59 Sheet 4]



the late 18th century two inmates worked a treadwheel to pump water to the top of the building and at Aylesbury County Gaol a new corn mill and treadwheel were installed in 1817–18.[85] Bury St Edmunds, prior to 1818, also had a treadmill which was approximately 16ft (4.9m) in diameter.[86]

The new type of treadwheel was described in an appendix to Orridge's account of Bury St Edmunds. He included quotes from Cubitt about the new wheel and accompanied these with a plan and a section (Fig 3.32).[87] Cubitt described it as being:

> two walking wheels, one above the other, of small diameters; and instead of the men walking within the wheel, as is common, they are to act on the outside, on a level of the axis of the wheel; by which means their weight is precisely at the place where it will have the greatest effect, and no one employed can for an instant cease from the regular step (which resembles walking up stairs) without dropping down to the floor below him; nor can he advance too high up the wheel, on account of the hand rail placed about breast high for the purpose of holding on, to rest the arms, and regulate the steps.

This type of outside walking wheel had been illustrated by Denis Diderot in *L'Encyclopédie*.[88] An arrangement of double treadwheels similar to Cubitt's had already been suggested by Samuel Bentham for his brother's panopticon in the 1790s, but it is unclear whether Cubitt was familiar with his proposal.[89]

Figure 3.30 (opposite) HMP Stafford, Staffordshire. Crescent wing. 1831–4, 1864. This wing is the only example of a curved wing that survives today. Originally it was a single line of cells but in 1864 it was lengthened and a second line of cells added to the rear to create a more conventional wing with open landings. [AA95/05870]

Figure 3.31 Salisbury Cathedral, Wiltshire. Treadwheel in spire. 14th century. This treadwheel is one of a number of treadwheels and windlasses that survive in cathedrals. It was incorporated into the structure as the tower was built to allow heavy materials to be raised for the construction of the spire. [BB71/02462]

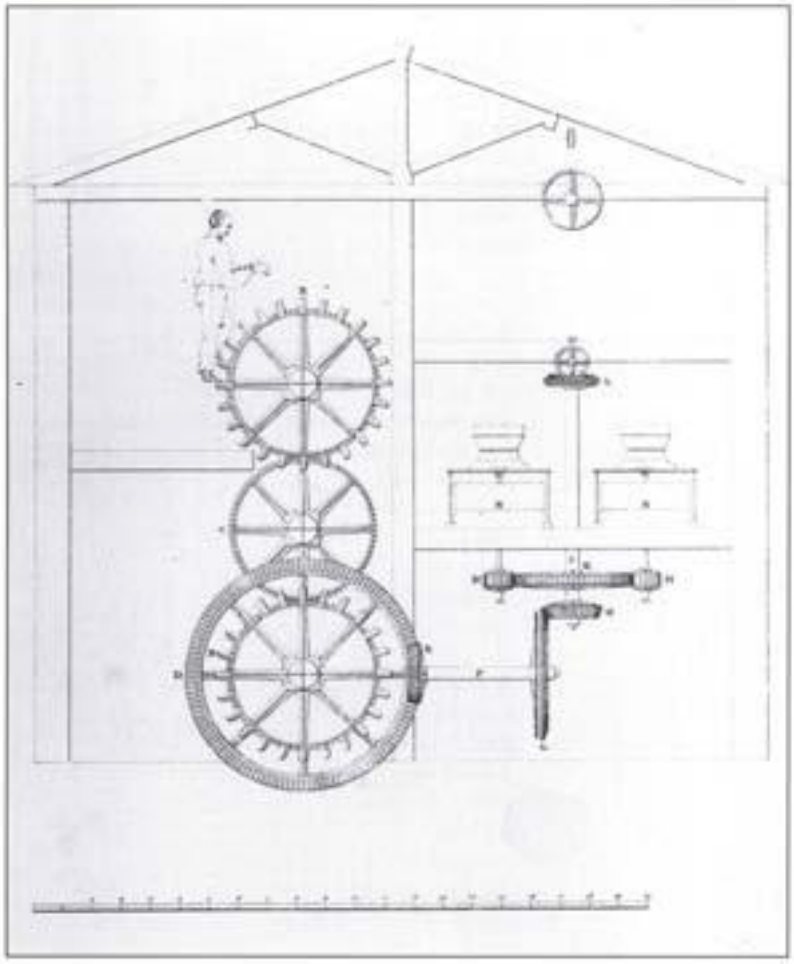


Figure 3.32
Bury St Edmunds County Gaol, Suffolk. Treadwheel designed by William Cubitt. Although not a new idea, Cubitt's design was rapidly adopted throughout the country as a means of providing suitable, punitive labour. [From Orridge 1819; by permission of the British Library 10350 g.2]

By November 1819 the first prototype of the wheel had been built at Bury St Edmunds and by 1824 there were at least seventy-five wheels in forty-nine prisons.[90] The original proposal by Cubitt, in which the wheel and the gear wheels were arranged vertically, was executed at Bury St Edmunds but as it was complicated most prisons seem to have erected wheels with the machinery attached to the side. These were originally relatively small, typically being between 5ft and 7ft (1.5 and 2.1m) in diameter and capable of providing work for between ten and thirty prisoners (Figs 3.33 and 3.34). By the 1880s a number of prisons had huge treadwheels with the largest at Coldbath Fields accommodating 356 prisoners driving 5 corn mills.[91]

The early treadwheels ground flour, pumped water and in at least one case powered looms.[92] They were also used to create wholly unproductive labour. A horizontal rotating sail provided air resistance against which the inmates were forced to drive the wheel. Some treadwheels were purely punitive while others, such as at Gloucester, had both a set of flour-grinding stones and a sail to provide unproductive labour (Fig 3.35). The amount of labour that was to be exacted from inmates was measured either in the number of hours to be worked or in the number of feet that were to be walked on the treadwheel. The 1823 Gaol Act specified that inmates sentenced to hard labour had to work a maximum of ten hours per day. In the 1824 returns regarding treadwheels, the seasonal working hours were published. In the summer an inmate was normally expected to work between seven and ten hours, with the winter working hours being reduced to five to seven hours per day.[93] At some prisons the quantity of labour was measured by the number of feet climbed. At Coldbath Fields (London) George Laval Chesterton found that male inmates were expected to do 12,000ft (3,658m) per day which he felt was excessive and he later reduced it to 4,500ft (1,372m).[94] An article in *The Times* on 20 October 1842 listed a number of prisons in which inmates were to climb more than 10,000ft (3,048m) per day.[95] Colchester House of Correction, Springfield Gaol at Chelmsford and the county gaol at Hertford expected inmates to walk 13,500ft (4,115m) per day while in the summer at Maidstone the inmate's quota was 18,240ft (5,560m).

The rapid adoption of the treadwheel in prisons proves that Justices were enthusiastic about it. Writers such as Sidney Smith also favoured the treadwheel, capstan or beating hemp and picking oakum instead of the looms and literacy classes that were provided at Preston. Charles Western argued for 'Imprisonment, under a judicious system of correctional discipline, hard labour, hard fare, hard lodging, seclusion from society and accompanied by proper moral and religious instruction' and favoured the treadwheel for providing the hard labour.[96] However, there was also some opposition to treadwheels because they were unproductive, dangerous and did not promote the reformation of inmates. Sir John Cox Hippisley, the magistrate from Somerset who was involved with the provision of new buildings at Wilton and Shepton Mallet in the early 1820s, became concerned with the labour devices which were to be installed.[97] He published an open letter to the Home Secretary, Robert Peel, in 1822 in which he lobbied for other forms of labour to be used

alongside the treadwheel and provided extracts from correspondence that he had collected on the subject (Fig 3.36).[99] He recounted the circumstances of an accident at Coldbath Fields in which a screw failed, allowing the inmates to fall 'on their backs, from a considerable height'. Included in his evidence was testimony by Dr Good who described the 'mischief' which was caused by the treadmill. He provided a gruesome and detailed description of the damage to the body and the particular effect that it would have on female prisoners. Hippisley and his correspondents favoured the capstan, in which inmates had a steady footing to prevent injuries, or the hand-powered crank. Capstans were installed at some prisons. The capstan house at Winchester survives, and the imprint of the inmates' feet as they rotated the capstan remains in the relaid floor at the base of St George's Tower at Oxford. Hippisley continued his campaign in Parliament where he combined with the Surrey magistrate, John Ivatt Briscoe, to submit a petition that was read in the House of Lords on 15 June 1824.[99] They asked the Lords to reject the bill, which became the 1824 Gaol Act, until investigations into the treadwheel had occurred. They described:

> the utter Inutility of Treadwheel Labour as exercised in some Places; the Pain, the Peril and Inequality of the Punishment; its Impropriety, Indecency and Cruelty in many Cases, and its Inefficiency in all to answer the Intent and Purposes of Correction and Reformation; its Debilitating Effects on the Body, and its demoralizing Influence on the Mind; its utter Incompetency to inculcate any Habit of useful Industry, together with its Impolicy and Illegality as at present administered;...

The Government appears to have been sensitive to the criticisms that had been raised. A letter was sent to local Justices in 1823 on behalf of Sir Robert Peel to ascertain which prisons had installed a treadwheel and whether any injuries had occurred. The returns were collected and published in a report designed to show that treadwheels had been successful and had produced no major harmful effects.[100] Apart from occasional minor injuries most correspondents replied that they were completely satisfied with their treadwheels. Similar reports were prepared in 1824 and 1825 with only occasional references to injury.[101] The worst occurred at Edinburgh Bridewell when a juvenile dislocated his ankle. However, the accident was 'caused by the boy's own carelessness while sitting near the Treadwheel during the interval of rest, and while he was not working upon it.'[102]

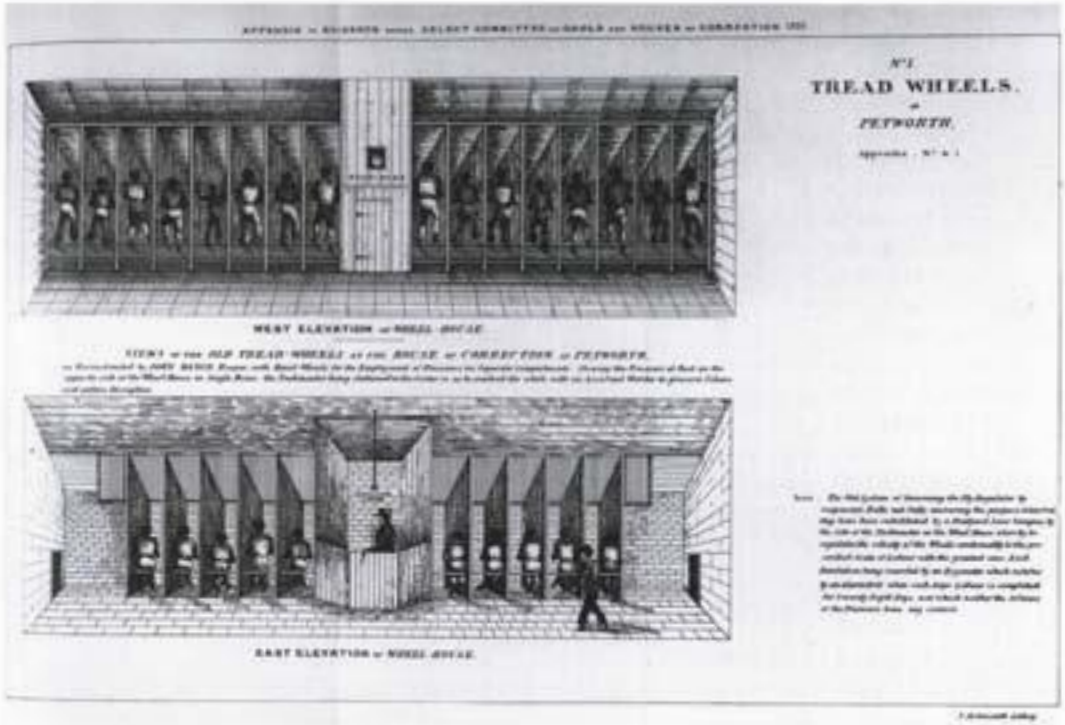


Figure 3.33
Petworth House of Correction, West Sussex. Treadwheels. Most treadwheel houses were small, being capable of employing perhaps ten inmates. They had an open front wall to give access to the wheel and to allow easy supervision. [From H of L. 1835, 1; BB98/13358]

Figure 3.34
HMP Kingston, Portsmouth in late 19th century. Treadwheel. A rare photograph of a treadwheel in use. It was demolished at the end of the 19th century. [HM Prison Service; BB90/14698]

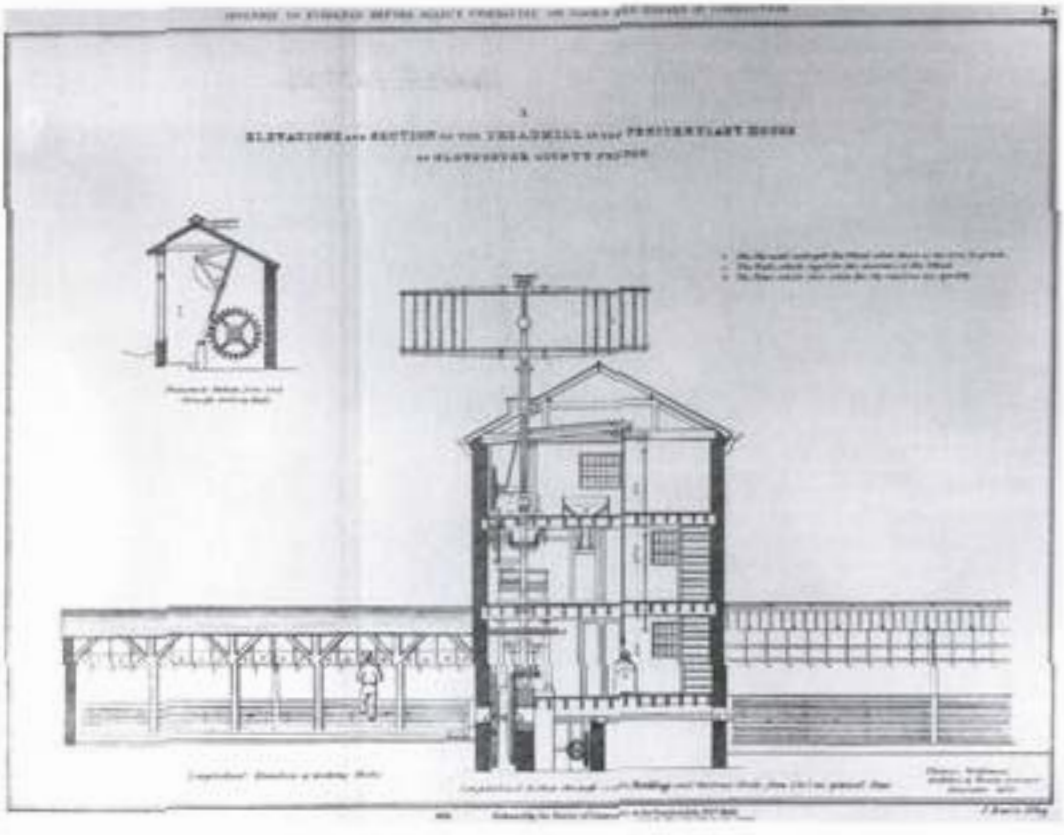


Figure 3.35
Elevations and section of treadmill at HMP Gloucester, Gloucestershire. Most treadwheels were unproductive but at Gloucester one was used to grind corn in a small mill. These buildings survive and are in use as workshops and offices. [From H of L 1835, 1; BB98/13362]

Hippisley was unsuccessful in his campaign against the treadwheel but he was not its only critic. At the house of correction at Wakefield the original treadwheel was removed by Edward Shepherd, Governor from 1832 to 1864, who disapproved of unproductive hard labour and in its place a successful matmaking industry was developed.[103] With the adoption of the separate system in the 1840s, there were inherent contradictions between strict segregation and the use of the treadwheel, although partitions could enforce some separation. This was recognised by the committee of Justices who were supervising the erection of the house of correction at Wandsworth.[104] Instead of installing a wheel they advertised for labour machines that could be installed in each cell. Five designs were submitted and an engineer, Charles May, was appointed to select the most suitable one. He chose a hand crank with a drum with a friction band around it. The advantage of the crank was that it could be operated in the cell but some prisons installed them in sheds where a group of prisoners could work. At Petworth the keeper, John Mance, designed a crankhouse for ten inmates in 1832 while at Winchester a combined treadwheel, mill and crankhouse was built after 1847 at the east side of the prison.[105] Norwich also had a crankhouse beside the treadwheel house on the north side of the male wing. At Leicester County Gaol and House of Correction there were fifty-two cranks by 1877 while at Lincoln cranks were in use to grind flour.[106]

Early treadwheels and their builders

By November 1819 the prototype of Cubitt's treadwheel had been built at Bury St Edmunds and by 1820 he had designed the treadwheel at Maidstone County Gaol.[107] Although he provided designs for many treadmills he did not usually become involved with the provision of the machinery or the building. The contracts for the buildings were

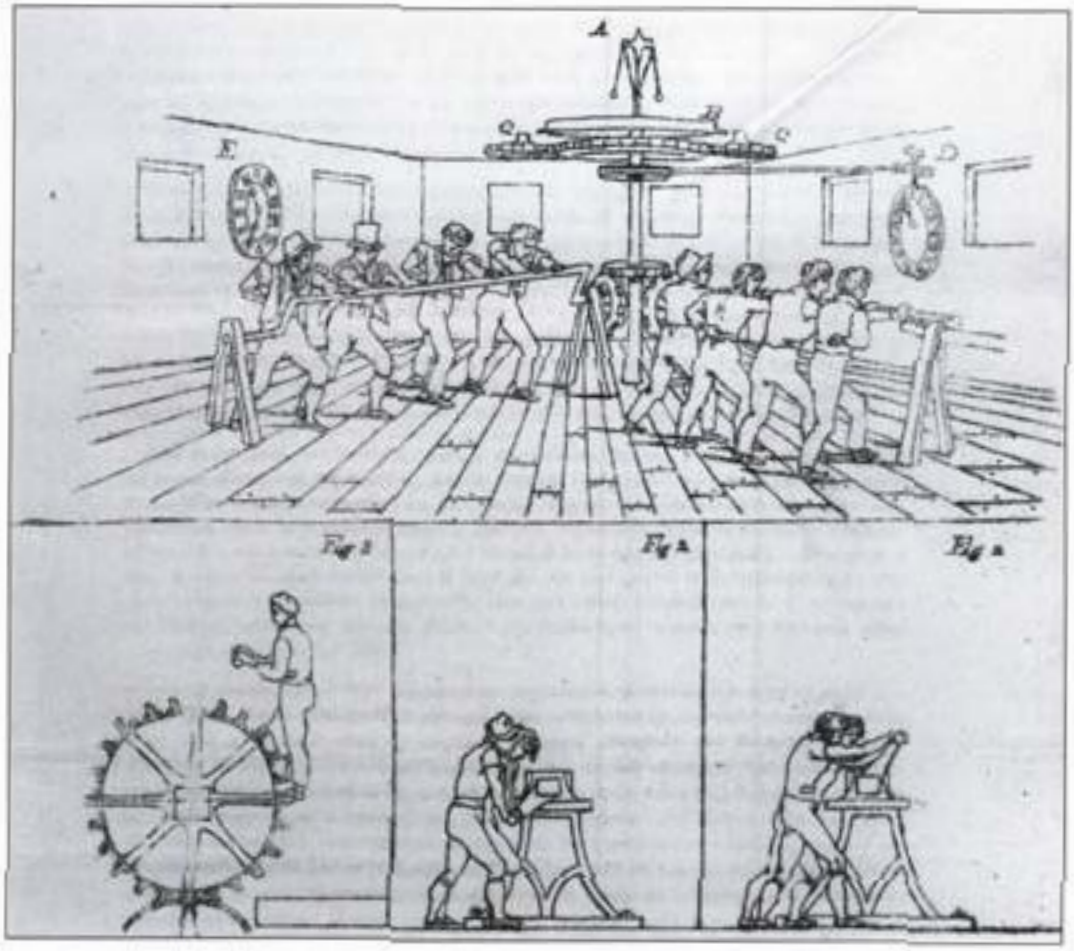


Figure 3.36
Labour devices in Hippisley 1822. Hippisley believed that these devices would be more humane than treadwheels. As a result of his campaigning the Home Secretary established surveys of injuries incurred during labour. [Wilts RO A1 516/4; BB95/08339]

normally awarded to local builders while some local millwrights were contracted to produce the machinery. By Midsummer 1821 the Justices decided to erect a mill at the county gaol at Exeter for employing eighty-four inmates. A tender for the building work by William Canes was accepted, while Thomas Fewings won the contract for the machinery. Canes's contract was signed on 5 April 1822 and both the millhouse and machinery were completed by July 1822.[108]

John Penn, the millwright who most often executed Cubitt's designs, submitted the most expensive tender for the Exeter work. Their close relationship is revealed in papers relating to the erection of treadwheels at Worcester County Gaol. In 1822 consideration was being given to building a treadwheel but this was abandoned, then revived in 1824. Cubitt was paid £200 to supervise the work and tenders for the contract were invited. The draft advertisement asked for tenders for three or four treadwheels, three pairs of stones, a flour-dressing mill, regulating fly and other machinery.[109] John Penn wrote stating that the three-wheel scheme would cost £975 with the extra one costing an extra £125. On the rear of his letter he listed the work he had carried out at twenty-three prisons according to designs by Mr Cubitt. However, he was undercut by Messrs Henry and George Stothert, who quoted a price of £605, and they signed the contract on 1 December 1824. Benjamin Buckley and Joseph Cakes signed a contract on 13 July 1824 for the building work, slating and carpentry.

The Stotherts, who outbid Penn, produced their own designs for treadwheels, as well as constructing the machinery. Besides Worcester, they designed and constructed treadwheels at Shepton Mallet, Wilton and Devizes. George Stothert junior established his first foundry in Bath in 1815 when he advertised that he could provide a wide range of domestic ironwork as well as 'Wheels, and Machinery, to patterns of every description.'[110] At Shepton Mallet the Stotherts signed contracts for erecting the buildings and supplying the machinery in 1823.[111] The treadwheels were within the perimeter wall of the prison but the hexagonal mill stood outside the prison, with power being transmitted by a horizontal shaft. The mill building does not survive but the treadwheel house remains and a scar appears in the perimeter wall where the shaft passed through. The Stotherts also signed a contract in 1823 with the Somerset Justices to erect treadwheels and a corn mill at Wilton.[112] On 30 August 1823 they

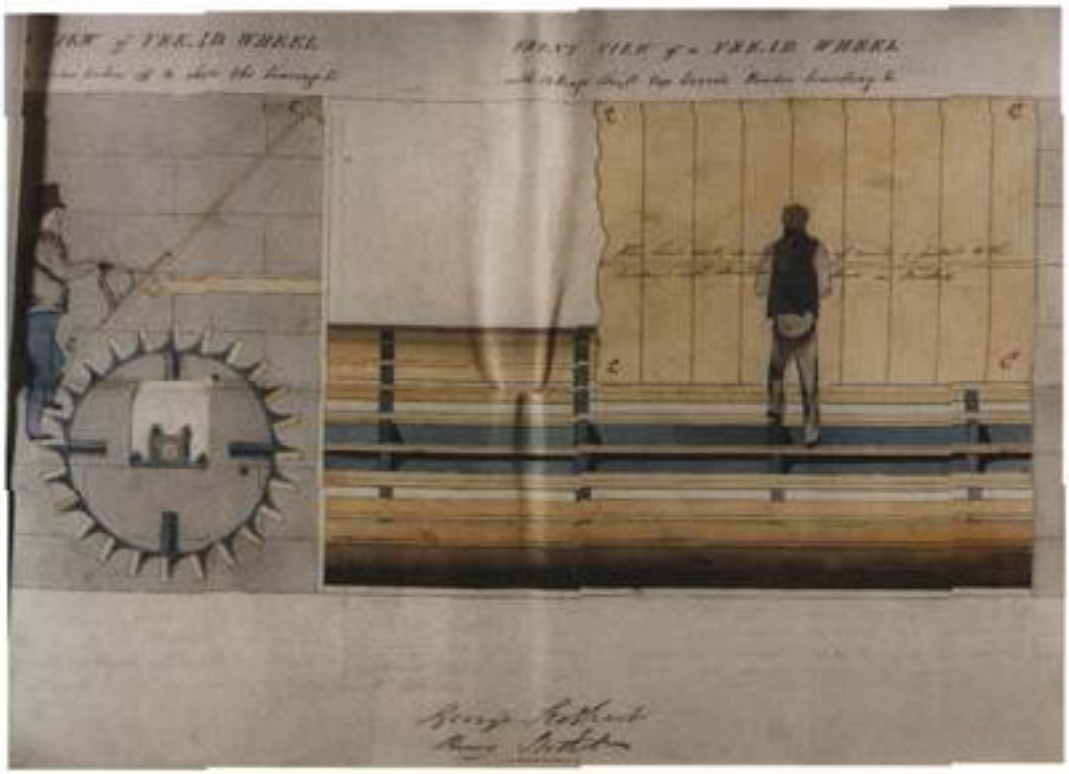


Figure 3.37
Devizes County Gaol, Wiltshire. Design of a treadwheel by Messrs Stothert. 1823. The Stotherts were local wheelwrights who produced designs for a number of prisons in Wiltshire and Somerset. [Wilts RO A1/509/10; BB95/08311]

Figure 3.38
Beaumaris Gaol, Anglesey, Wales. Treadwheel at former gaol. 1829. This is the only treadwheel to survive in any prison in England and Wales. The handle in the centre of each bay was held by the inmates to stop themselves falling off. [BB98/13647]

agreed to provide a set of treadwheels for the county gaol at Devizes (Fig 3.37). The treadwheels were to be built at the north end of the prison, on the site of two of the unfinished cell blocks. They were not designed to power a mill originally, but on 10 November 1824 John Penn of Greenwich submitted an estimate for supplying two pairs of French stones and a pair of peak stones.[113]

Apart from Penn and the Stotherts the records of other prisons reveal that an appropriate local firm or millwright was contracted to provide the machinery. Joseph Howden, who styled himself as an 'Engineer and Millwright', provided designs for treadwheel machinery and a corn mill at Wakefield House of Correction.[114] In October 1822, the Lincolnshire Quarter Sessions decided that a treadmill should be built at Skirbeck. Thomas Thorold Leake, a machine-maker from Boston, and Richard Leake of Skirbeck, a carpenter, undertook to make the mill house and treadwheel for £136 10s. The wheel was to be 10ft (3.1m) long and have a diameter of 7ft 2in. (2.2m), with room for four to six people. It was to be capable of producing sufficient power to drive one pair of stones and a dressing machine.[115]

The only treadwheel that survives in a former prison in Britain is at the former gaol at Beaumaris (Wales) (Fig 3.38). The prison was designed by Joseph Aloysius Hansom and Edward Welch. On 7 September 1829 inmates moved into the new prison and the treadwheel is probably an original feature of the gaol.[116] It has a series of separate compartments with a sloping timber screen in front to prevent prisoners from falling on to the wheel. The wheel, which drove a small water pump, is located in a small shed that is open to the yard.

4
Pentonville and English Local Prisons, *c* 1835–1877

England's prisons in the 1830s

By the late 1830s prisons for counties, boroughs and legal liberties were situated in over 200 English and 20 Welsh towns and cities (Fig 4.1). Every local authority had the right and responsibility to maintain a prison, and offenders were incarcerated in the prison of the authority in which they had been convicted. The multiplicity of jurisdictions ensured great variations in the distribution, plan and conditions of the prisons and in the severity of the punishment administered by them. About half the English counties had one county gaol and one county house of correction. Usually they were located in the same town, and often on the same site. However, they could also be situated in two different towns. In Nottinghamshire the county gaol was at Nottingham while the county house of correction was at Southwell. Other counties still had more than one county house of correction; in Somerset the county gaol was at Ilchester and the houses of correction were at Shepton Mallet and Wilton (Taunton). Five counties were divided into divisions or ridings. Lincolnshire, Yorkshire and Sussex had one gaol for the whole county and separate houses of correction for each division, while Kent and Suffolk had one gaol and one or more houses of correction for each division. There was also a duplication of prisons. Twenty-seven English towns and cities had more than one prison, usually a county gaol and a borough gaol.[1]

The layout and living conditions of prisons were diverse. Of the 136 English and Welsh county and city prisons covered by the 1823 Gaol Act, about 30 per cent were described as having radial plans by 1834, 30 per cent were quadrangular in layout, 10 per cent had polygonal plans and a further 30 per cent were old prisons with irregular plans. Municipal prisons were small and the state of many remained deplorable. Of 165 borough and town prisons examined by Municipal Corporation Commissioners in 1835, only 61 (37 per cent) offered adequate accommodation. Twenty-six (16 per cent) were described as being 'unfit for the confinement of human beings'. Forty-nine (30 per cent) were lock-ups for temporary imprisonment, typical of which were Bishop's Castle (Shropshire), a dungeon under the town hall, and Over (Cheshire), 'a damp, miserable hole, under the Market Cross'.[2]

Since 1823, the basis of prison discipline had been classification but this was not evenly applied. While small borough gaols were unable even to separate criminals and debtors, large county gaols and houses of correction accommodated an increasing number of classes. Shrewsbury, for example, was divided into seventeen categories (excluding sick and condemned prisoners) in 1797 but had twenty-six categories by 1834.[3] Classification based on the nature of the offence rather than the character of the offender was increasingly seen to be flawed, since habitual criminals convicted of minor offences were imprisoned alongside young or first offenders.

There was no uniform system of discipline or management in English prisons during the 1830s and a new approach to penal administration was required. In its search for a new direction in prison management, the British Government looked to the USA, where two systems of discipline had developed. Both sought to prevent communication between prisoners and therefore the contamination of first or minor offenders by habitual criminals, one by total silence and the other by complete separation. The prisons in which the two regimes were imposed differed

fundamentally in their design and the architecture of each became inextricably linked with their respective systems of discipline. The silent system emerged as the predominant regime in the USA but it was the separate system that became the major influence on European prison design during the mid-19th century.

Developments in the USA

The silent and separate systems had developed in the USA during the 1820s. The silent system was first imposed in 1823 in the state prison at Auburn (New York), which had opened in 1819 with sixty-one cells and twenty-eight dormitories. A new wing of individual sleeping cells was constructed between 1819 and 1825 and this model was followed at Mount Pleasant State Prison, known as Sing-Sing (1825–8) (Fig 4.2). The cell blocks at both prisons were rectangular, of five storeys and economic to build. At Auburn, the accommodation buildings were on three sides of an open square and at Sing-Sing there was a single wing containing 1,000 cells. The wings contained small, inside sleeping cells, measuring about 7½ft by 3½ft by 7ft high (2.3 × 1.0 × 2.1m). The cells were arranged in two back-to-back rows, with those on the uppers floor being reached from galleries. Corridors ran along the outside walls of the blocks, so that the cells received no direct sunlight or fresh air. Around the peripheries of the prisons were large numbers of workshops. Inmates slept in individual cells at night and undertook productive labour together during the day. Complete silence was maintained by the frequent use of corporal punishment. The regime did not require an expensive building and the cost of the prisoners' upkeep was partly offset by the profits of their work.[1]

The implementation of the separate system demanded a purpose-built prison to enforce the complete separation of prisoners and was therefore a costly undertaking. The system was practised in the Eastern State Penitentiary at Cherry Hill, Philadelphia (Pennsylvania), which has a radial plan (Fig 4.3). Building work commenced in 1823 and the prison opened in 1829, although it was not completed until 1837. It was designed by John Haviland, an English architect who was related to Count Morduinoff of Russia, a friend of John Howard. He trained under James Elmes, who later published *Hints for the Improvements of Prisons* and designed Bedford House of Correction. Haviland settled in Pennsylvania in 1816 and won the architectural competition to design the new Eastern Penitentiary in 1822. As originally conceived, Haviland's scheme was for a central rotunda with seven radiating wings linked to it by corridors. The rotunda was designed with accommodation on the ground floor. However, it was built without internal partitions to become a central observatory over the inside and, by means of a watchtower, the outside of the prison buildings. The wings were to be single storeyed with a central corridor flanked by two rows of eighteen outside cells. Each cell measured 12ft long by 8ft wide by 10ft high (3.6 × 2.4 × 3.0m) and opened outwards into its own, individual exercise yard, instead of inwards on to the corridor. Openings in the corridor wall allowed the officers to inspect the cells and to pass the occupants their meals. The first three wings were built between 1823 and 1829 to Haviland's plan, except that each contained

Figure 4.1
Map of the gaols and houses of correction in England and Wales in the late 1830s. More than 270 prisons serving counties, boroughs and liberties were located in over 220 towns and cities in England and Wales. [Digests of Gaol Returns in RIP, 2(H), 3(H), 4(H) and 5(H)]

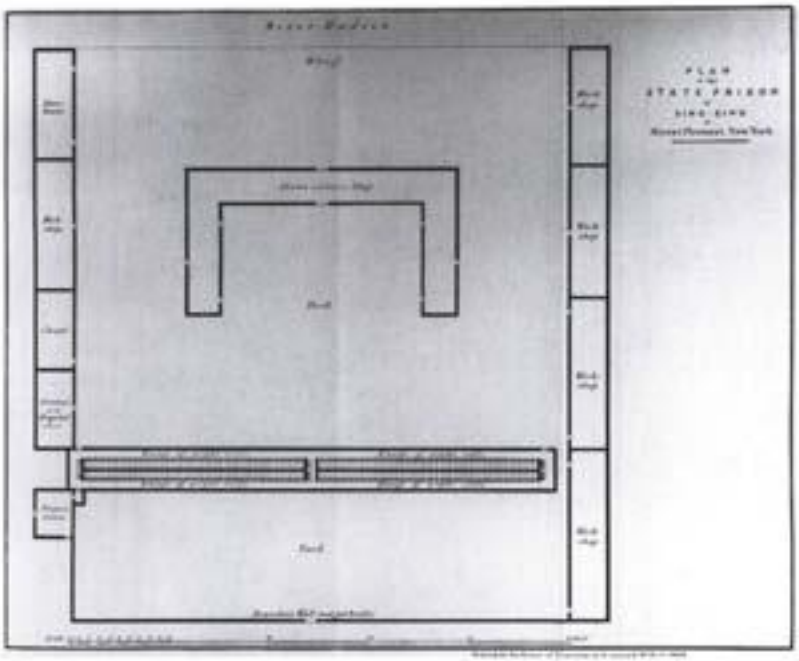


Figure 4.2
Mount Pleasant State Prison, New York, more commonly called Sing-Sing. Plan. 1825–8. This prison operated on the silent-system model with blocks of 'inside' cells. [From PP 1834 (593) XLVI, no. 7; BB98/13364]

thirty-eight cells. The remaining four wings were erected after 1831 to a modified design. They were two storeyed, twenty-five or thirty-four bays long, and open from the floor to roof, the cells on the upper storey being reached from galleries (Fig 4.4). The cell doors opened on to the corridor and the cells of the original three wings were provided with inside doors at the same date. The ground-floor cells had separate yards, while occupants of the upper floor were each given two cells. Haviland further developed the Cherry Hill model at the New Jersey State Penitentiary at Trenton, which was erected between 1833 and 1836 with 300 cells. Trenton had a semicircular observatory with five two-storey wings radiating from it, the wings, of which only two were at first built, being without individual yards. Extending from the gatehouse to the observatory was a rectangular entrance building containing, on the ground floor, reception facilities, offices and the kitchen. Under the separate system prisoners did not leave their cell or yard, but worked, slept and exercised in them. Work was regarded as a privilege and infringements of the prison rules were punished by the deprivation of privileges, including labour. Solitary cellular confinement was intended to induce reflection and thereby the moral and religious reformation of the offender.[5]

The significant elements of Haviland's separate prison were the system of discipline, the radial plan, the central observatory and the open wings. Each of these elements can be found in earlier American and European prisons, but they were only brought together by Haviland at Cherry Hill. A block of sixteen outside cells for the solitary confinement of serious offenders had been erected at Walnut Street Prison, Philadelphia, in 1790–1, and separate cellular imprisonment without labour had been instigated in 1818 for the new Western State Penitentiary to be built at Pittsburgh (Pennsylvania). Even at Auburn certain classes of prisoner were held in solitary confinement until 1823.[6] In Britain, Jonas Hanway had proposed a system of solitary confinement as early as 1776, but most prisons of the late 18th and early 19th centuries enforced the associated system, with night cells and common workrooms. However, a number did impose the separate system. Petworth House of Correction was erected between 1785 and 1789 with thirty-two cells in which inmates were kept separate day and night. They took exercise alone and had to sit in individual stalls in the chapel. Gloucester Penitentiary opened in 1791, within the new gaol, with separate working cells and sleeping cells for thirty-two male and twelve female felons sentenced to transportation or death. However, they were able to associate in the airing yards and chapel. The General Penitentiary at Millbank, which opened in 1816, had two classes of prisoners, the first of which worked and slept in separate cells, but exercised and attended chapel together. The separate system was introduced at Glasgow City Bridewell in 1824 following the erection of two four-storeyed wings which each contained eighty cells measuring 9ft by 7ft by 10ft high (2.7 × 2.1 × 3.0m).[7]

Radial-plan prisons of the late 18th and early 19th centuries usually had detached cell blocks but some were erected with wings attached to the central building, including Salford New Bailey and the county gaols and houses of correction at Ipswich and Hereford. The central building often contained the governor's house, chapel and infirmaries but at Hereford there was an inspection hall for the turnkeys on the ground floor. The 'constant and unobserved inspection' of prisoners and the separation of classes of offenders were two determining factors in the design for a small prison published by the SIPD in 1826.[8] The cell blocks of prisons erected between about 1780 and about 1835 were usually

floored with day- or workrooms at ground level and sleeping cells on the upper storey. However, at least one European prison had been built with a cell block open from floor to ceiling. The house of correction for boys which had been erected at the Ospedale San Michele in Rome in 1703–4 to the designs of Carlo Fontana, had three storeys of cells, the upper two tiers being reached from galleries (*see* Fig 2.5). However, this block was designed to allow the inhabitants to see the central altar rather than to allow the warders to supervise the inmates.

Developments in England during the 1830s

The British Government was aware of developments in the USA. In 1831 Earl Grey's Whig administration appointed a Select Committee of the House of Commons to examine the question of secondary punishments and it reported in June 1832.[9] Its recommendations included imposing solitary confinement with hard labour along similar lines to the silent system practised in Auburn Prison. Their preference for this model over the separate system was influenced by publications of the Boston Prison Discipline Society, which promoted the silent system, and by the personal testimony of Captain Basil Hall of the Royal Navy.[10] Hall had travelled extensively in North America during 1827 and 1828, and on his return published an account of his journey. He visited a number of American prisons, including Sing-Sing and Cherry Hill.[11] Hall favoured the former because it allowed human contact and he condemned the absolute solitude of the latter. The 1831–2 Select Committee also recommended that dormitories and day-rooms in existing prisons should be converted into separate sleeping cells and new cell blocks should be erected; that a return should be made by all prisons estimating the expense of these alterations and additions; and that Prison Inspectors should be appointed.

Following the Select Committee's report William Crawford was dispatched to the USA to examine at first hand their state prisons. Crawford had been a secretary of a committee that investigated the cause and increase of juvenile delinquency in London, and he was a founder member and secretary of the SIPD. He was one of a number of European visitors to investigate the respective merits of silent- and separate-system prisons in the USA. On his return, Crawford produced a report on American penitentiaries and the two rival systems of discipline. Contrary to the conclusions of the 1831–2 Select Committee, he condemned the silent system since it was maintained by corporal punishment and he criticised the design of Auburn because it did not allow central inspection.[12] He praised the moral discipline imposed at Cherry Hill and recommended the adoption of a modified form of the separate system in England.[13] Every prisoner should have his own cell in which to sleep and eat and certain classes should be held in solitary confinement, with or without work. Where separation was not enforced prisoners should undertake associated labour in strict silence. He argued that classification alone did not prevent contamination and

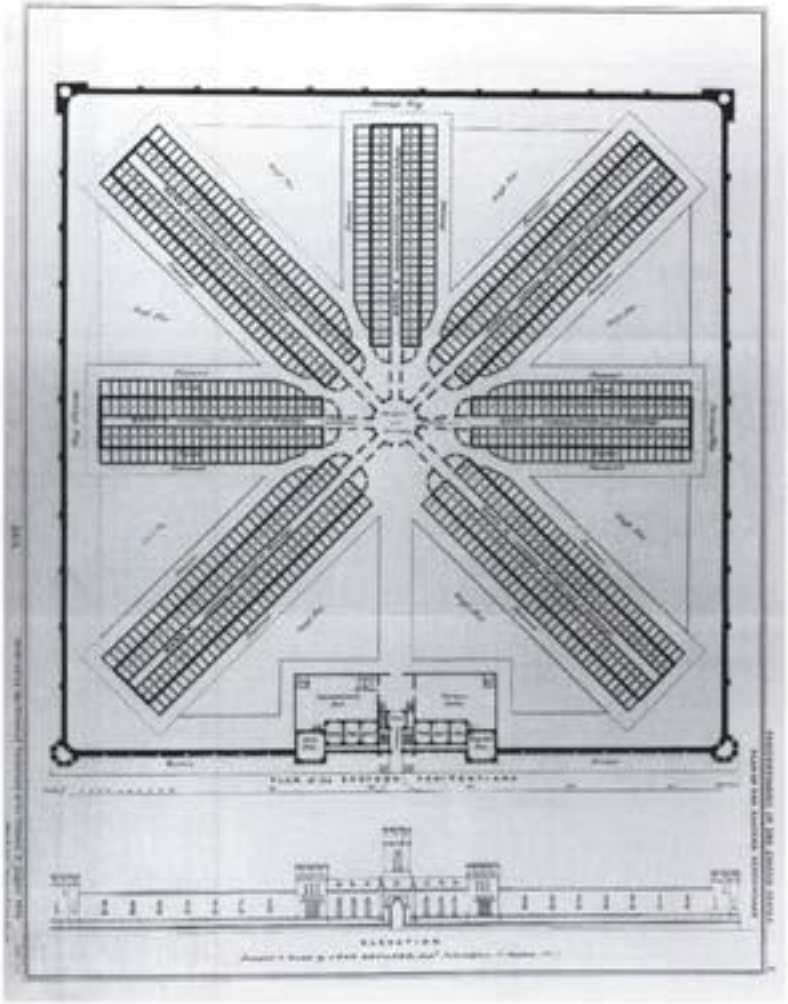


Figure 4.3
Eastern State Penitentiary, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Plan. 1823–37. John Haviland. The prison had seven radiating blocks of 'outside' cells in which the separate system was imposed. The original design was modified as the prison was constructed. The first three cell blocks were of a single storey with cells opening outwards into exercise yards. The remaining four wings had two floors of cells, which opened inwards on to a central corridor. [From PP 1834 (593) XLVI, no. 1; BB98/13368]

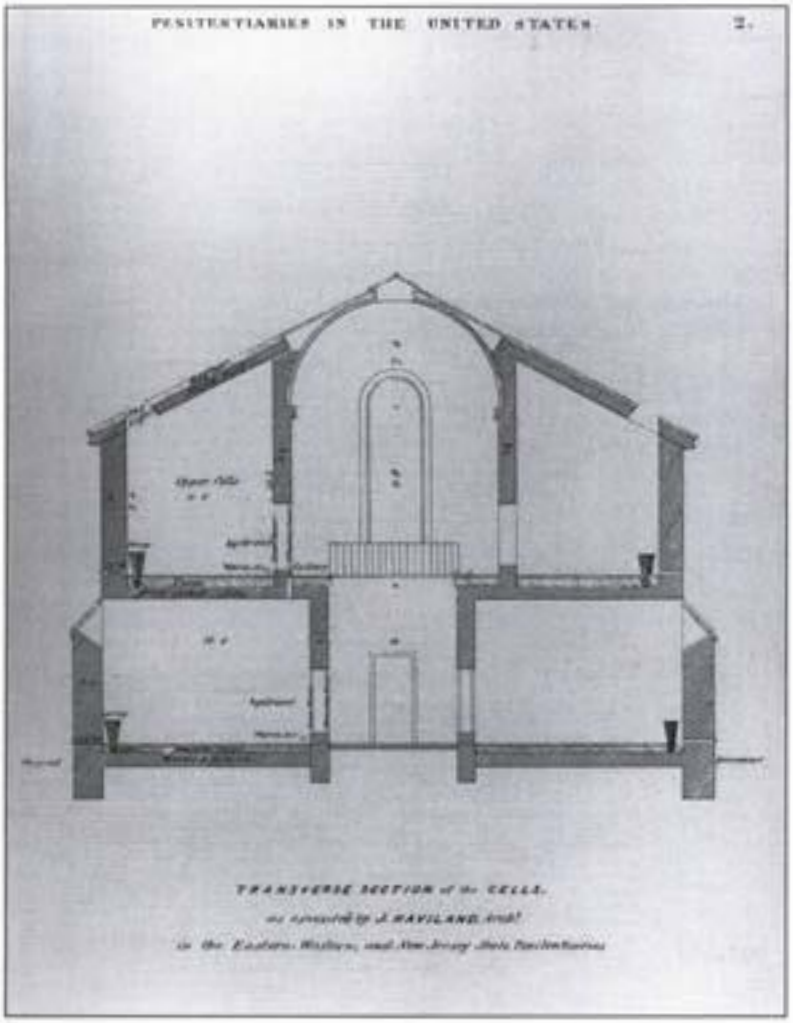


Figure 4.4
A cross-section of cell blocks at the Eastern and Western penitentiaries, Pennsylvania and the New Jersey Penitentiary. John Haviland. The wings were not floored but open from ground to roof, with galleries to give access to the upper level of cells. [From PP *1834 (593) XLVI, no. 2; BB98/13367]*

that all communication between prisoners should be prevented. Crawford also emphasised the importance of employment, religious instruction and the uniform application of discipline in all prisons. He published an estimate of the expense of providing an adequate number of separate sleeping cells in the 136 prisons subject to the 1823 Gaols Act, based on annual returns for 1832.[14] These prisons contained over 10,000 cells but, even after allowing for the subdivision of larger rooms, there would still be a deficit of over 4,000 cells. The cost of providing the cells was estimated at over £267,000.

The former champions of classification, the SIPD, took up Crawford's recommendations. Samuel Hoare, their Chairman, argued that 'Most of the Evils of the present system result from the Want of individual Separation... Solitary Confinement inspires Dread beyond that of any Description of Imprisonment, and when accompanied by Employment and Moral and Religious Instruction, forms the most powerful Agent in deterring from Crime, and producing the Reformation of the Offender.'[15] He proposed different degrees of punishment, with the most serious offenders being held in separate cells and minor offenders undertaking silent associated labour but eating and sleeping separately. A Select Committee of the House of Lords was appointed in March 1835 under the chairmanship of the Duke of Richmond to examine the question of prison discipline.[16] It concluded that there should be a uniform system of discipline, that prison rules should be approved by the Secretary of State and that Prison Inspectors should be appointed. The Select Committee called for the enforcement of silence to prevent communication and argued that: 'Entire Separation, except during the Hours of Labour and of Religious Worship and Instruction, is absolutely necessary for preventing Contamination, and for securing a proper System of Prison Discipline'.[17]

These recommendations were implemented by the 1835 Prisons Act.[18] All prison rules were to be submitted to the Home Secretary for his approval and Inspectors were appointed to visit and make annual reports on all prisons. Four districts were created (later reduced to three, then two), each with one Inspector except for the Home District, which had two. William Crawford was appointed Home District Inspector, together with the Revd Whitworth Russell, the former chaplain of Millbank, who was a nephew of Lord John Russell, the Home Secretary. Lord Russell issued a circular to all visiting Justices detailing the changes in the legislation and appending the resolutions of the 1835 Select Committee.[19] He emphasised that the question of prison discipline had not been settled and that until it was it would be inadvisable to make material alterations to prisons.

Crawford and Russell were fervent advocates of the separate system. In the second (1837), third (1838) and fourth (1839) annual reports for the Home District, they refined the workings of the system and developed an improved design of prison in which to implement it.[20] They defined separate confinement as 'the separation of each offender from all communication and

association with his fellow-offenders, regard being had to his bodily health, his mental sanity, his intellectual improvement, and his moral amendment, by inculcating industrious habits, and by religious and moral instruction'.[21] The basis of the system was that each prisoner should sleep and work alone in a large cell which contained all the necessary facilities for prison life including lighting, heating, ventilation, a toilet and basin, and the means to call an officer. The cells should be constructed so as to prevent communication between prisoners and separation should be extended to the chapel and airing yards. At all times, inmates would be subject to unobserved inspection by prison staff. The cellular solitude was intended to induce reflection and was to be broken by religious worship, daily exercise and frequent visits from officers, in particular the chaplain. By these means the offender should be both reformed morally and deterred from committing further crimes.

The Home District Inspectors, when considering the general principles of prison construction, emphasised the importance of separation, security, observation and ease of access, all of which were satisfied by a radial layout. They produced a series of plans of model prisons to accommodate between 4 and 500 prisoners, with the assistance from September 1837 of Joshua Jebb, a Captain in the Royal Engineers. Jebb was seconded to the Home Office as a technical adviser and he contributed to the plans and constructional details of the Inspectors' third and fourth reports.[22] The Inspectors' plans of prisons for over 100 inmates clearly showed the influence of John Haviland's New Jersey State Penitentiary (Fig 4.5). The prisons were entered by a simple gateway (later developed into a gatehouse) into a secure courtyard flanked by houses for the governor and chaplain. An entrance building extended from the courtyard to a central inspection hall or observatory. The entrance building contained the reception in the basement, the administration on the ground floor and a chapel on the first floor. The central hall was open from ground floor to roof over a basement kitchen, and from it radiated three to five wings.

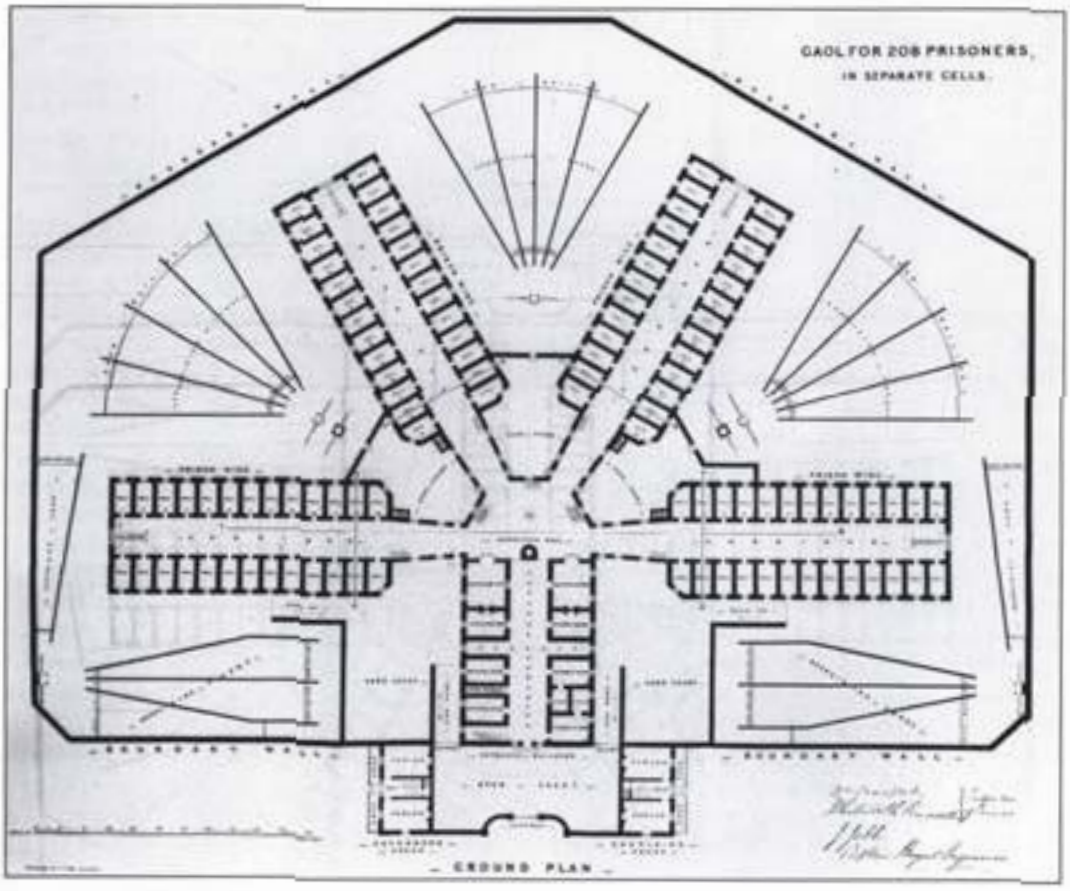


Figure 4.5
A plan of a prison for 208 prisoners. 1837–8. William Crawford, Whitworth Russell and Joshua Jebb. The centre and wings are open from floor to roof and the upper levels of cells are reached from galleries. [From RIP, 3(H), pl 127, by permission of the British Library BS REF 1838 XXX]

The cell blocks had two or three storeys, with an open corridor and galleries to reach the cells of the upper floors. The size of a cell was given as 12ft long, 8ft wide and 10ft high (3.6 × 2.4 × 3.0m) in the second report, but was subsequently amended to 13ft by 7ft by 10ft (3.9 × 2.1 × 3.0m). Experiments were undertaken at Millbank to determine how to build soundproof cells, and the Inspectors gave precise details of the construction of the cells, their windows, doors and fittings, and of a plenum heating and ventilation system. Consideration was also given to the chapel, with its separate stalls, and to the individual exercise yards, which were located in groups between the wings.[23]

The early use of the separate system

During the late 1830s, amid national and local debate about the separate and silent systems, some counties and boroughs took firm steps towards implementing one or other system. The silent system was castigated by Crawford and Russell for failing to prevent communication between inmates, for inflicting excessive and variable punishments, and for employing prisoners as wardsmen.[24] It had been introduced by George Laval Chesterton at Coldbath Fields in 1834 and by 1838 had been imposed in a number of other prisons.[25] Early in 1838, the visiting Justices of Lewes House of Correction favoured extending the silent system, a version of which had already been adopted.[26] They rejected the Inspectors' proposals for total separation because of the expense involved in rebuilding prisons; the impracticality of daily visits to each prisoner by officers and the difficulty of learning a trade when confined to a cell. The system at Lewes included separate cells, inspection and individual compartments in the workshops, schoolrooms and treadwheels, and was in many respects a combination of both approaches. Silence and separation at Petworth successfully reformed some habitual criminals in 1837, and a similar discipline was enforced at Derby by the same date.[27] John Sylvester of Great Russell Street, London, installed a heating and ventilation system at Derby between 1838 and 1841 to enable cells to be used for individual confinement.[28]

Figure 4.6 (opposite) HMP Preston, Lancashire. D wing. 1842. J N O Welch. The prison's early date is suggested by relatively small cell windows and doors, exaggerated door architraves, awkward steps into the cells and heavy gallery brackets. [AA95/04485]

Other local prison authorities considered, or proceeded with, rebuilding on the separate model. By 1838, the Home District Inspectors had supplied plans of separate prisons for five borough gaols and two London prisons.[29] At Bath they proposed a prison containing 200 separate cells, with a central hall and four two-storeyed radial wings which were open from floor to ceiling.[30] At Leeds, together with Jebb, they selected one of eleven sites earmarked by the borough council, and prepared plans for a 200-cell prison.[31] Edward Haycock drew up plans in 1837 for a wing containing thirty-seven separate cells at Shrewsbury, and heating apparatus for the new building was ordered from Messrs Haden and Co of Trowbridge in 1838.[32] By 1841 thirty-five men were confined in separate cells, although most inmates were still held in classified groups.[33] At Worcester, *an attempt to introduce the separate system* failed because of overcrowding.[34] Eighty new cells were built between 1838 and 1840, but they were immediately occupied by more than one inmate. At Wakefield, a silent-system prison, schemes for a new female prison in 1837 by Bernard Hartley resemble a separate-system wing.[35] The proposed cell block had 17 bays, 4 storeys and 114 cells, with an open nave and landings to give access to the upper levels of cells. The cells were small, measuring only 9ft 6in. by 7ft (2.9 × 2.1m) and dayrooms were included in the design.

There was, however, a legal obstacle to enforcing separation. An Act of 1837 prohibited the solitary confinement of prisoners for more than one month or for more than three months in one year.[36] Crawford and Russell distinguished separate imprisonment from solitary confinement – which they considered to be total seclusion in a small, dark cell suitable only for short periods of punishment – but this distinction did not exist in law.[37] Building work to adapt prisons to the separate system had to be postponed, for example, at Worcester and Wakefield.[38] Lord Russell, the Home Secretary, was in favour of separation and the necessary measures were incorporated in a prisons bill, which was presented to Parliament in *February 1839*. *Seventeen* petitions against the measure were sent to the House of Commons, but the bill received its royal assent in August and came into effect on 1 January 1840.[39] The 1839 Prisons Act was intended 'to

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prevent the Contamination arising from the Association of Prisoners' by making the separate system permissible.[40] All separate cells had to be certified by a Prison Inspector and all plans of new prisons or additions to existing prisons had to be approved by the Home Secretary. Prisoners were to receive exercise, moral and religious instruction, employment and daily visits from the keeper. Those prisons not covered by the 1823 and 1824 Gaol Acts, which offered neither classification nor separation, were to have at least five classes for both sexes.

In their third report of 1838, Crawford and Russell proposed the establishment of a model prison in London in order both to give practical effect to the separate system and its architecture, and to persuade the county and borough magistrates to adopt it. They were supported by Lord Russell, who asked Joshua Jebb to select a suitable site, prepare plans and superintend the building work.[41] The model prison, erected at Pentonville by the Government between 1840 and 1842, was not a local prison but was to hold convicts sentenced to transportation. While it was being built, and without waiting for its completion, some local authorities decided to add wings on a separate plan at their own prisons. A new cell block for 100 prisoners was erected at Knutsford (Cheshire) between 1840 and 1842, to designs by Samuel Fowls. The wing had three storeys, open landings, cells measuring 13ft by 7ft by 10ft high (3.9 × 2.1 × 3.0m) and a hot-water-pipe heating system. A major phase of work was undertaken at Hereford between 1842 and 1843, including the construction of a new wing. Heating and ventilation apparatus were ordered from the Hadens of Trowbridge for cells in the centre building, new wing, female prison, penitentiary and bridewell.[42] A three-storeyed, twelve-bay wing (D wing), designed by J N O Welch, was begun at Preston in 1842 (Fig 4.6). The impetus to improve the prison came from the chaplain, John Clay, who had been advocating the 'American system', a combination of silence and separation, since 1827.[43] Solitary cells certified for one month's confinement had been in use since 1840 and when the new wing opened in 1843 a modified form of the separate system was imposed. At other prisons, such as Aylesbury and Stafford, additions were considered but not actually undertaken. A gaol-building committee was appointed in 1841 with a view to enlarging or rebuilding Aylesbury County Gaol in accordance with the 1839 Act, but it decided to postpone action until Pentonville was completed.[44] Approval for new female cells at Stafford was received in May 1841, but a new women's prison was not commenced for a decade.[45]

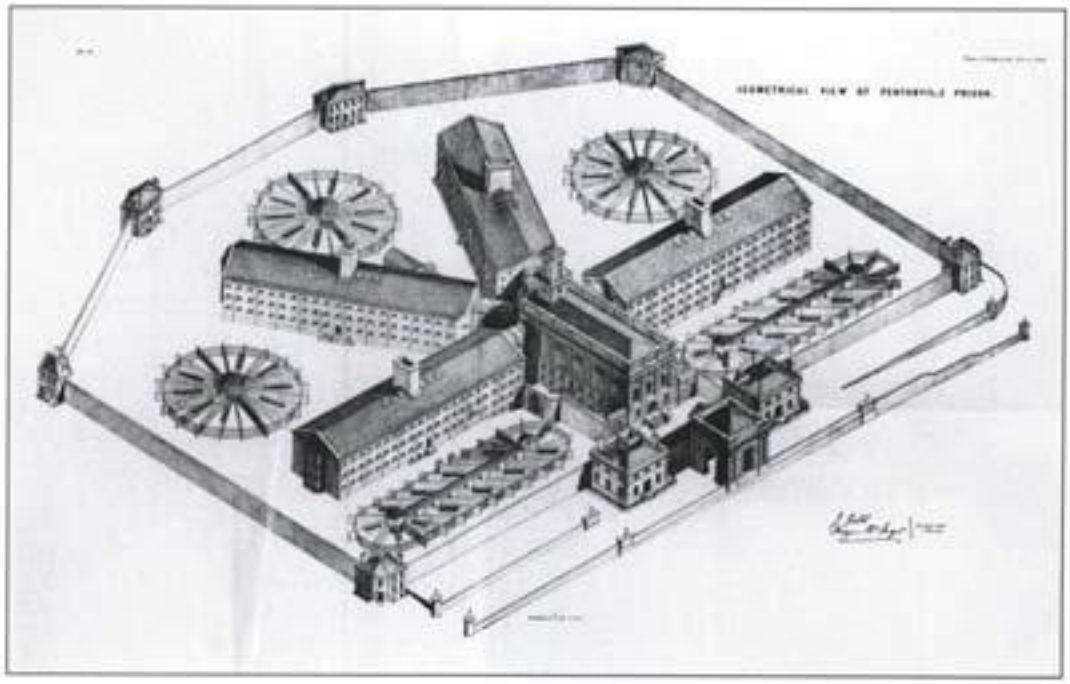


Figure 4.7
HMP Pentonville, Greater London. 1840–2. An isometric view showing the prison buildings, exercise yards and perimeter wall. [From PP 1844 (594) XXVIII, pl 22]

Joshua Jebb and Pentonville

Joshua Jebb joined the Royal Engineers in 1812 and, after spending two periods abroad, was appointed Adjutant to the Royal Sappers at Chatham in 1831. He was promoted to Captain in January 1837 and in September of that year was seconded to the Home Office for six months. Jebb's role, as 'a person conversant with architectural drawing and the arrangement of Buildings', was to assist the Home District Inspectors translate the theory of the separate system into practical buildings. He signed their third report of May 1838 and the plans included in it. His appointment was extended in February 1838 and made permanent in September 1839.[46] Together with Crawford, Jebb was appointed as one of the supervising committee of visitors for the new juvenile reformatory at Parkhurst on the Isle of Wight in May 1839. He was made responsible for the erection of the model prison and, with Crawford and Russell, was a Commissioner for Pentonville from December 1842. In August 1844 he became the first Surveyor-General of Prisons and in October became Inspector-General of Military Prisons. From 1850 he was also Chairman of the Board of Directors of Convict Prisons.

Joshua Jebb's expanding role within the Home Office brought him into conflict with Crawford and Russell over the model prison and with the Prison Inspectors generally concerning local prisons. From September 1839, Jebb was advising the Home Secretary about the plans of Pentonville and of other prisons submitted for his approval. Not surprisingly, Crawford and Russell wished to continue being consulted in these matters.[47] They had drawn up, with Jebb's assistance, the original plans for a model prison and had been supplying plans for separate prisons since taking up their appointments as Inspectors. Nevertheless, Jebb was widely credited as the architect of Pentonville. His published report on its construction merely acknowledged the Inspectors' 'experience in discipline, and in the arrangement most convenient for its administration' which helped him with drawing up the plans.[48] In response to a draft of this report, Russell wrote Jebb an haranguing letter detailing their respective roles in the genesis of the model prison, but by then it was too late.[49]

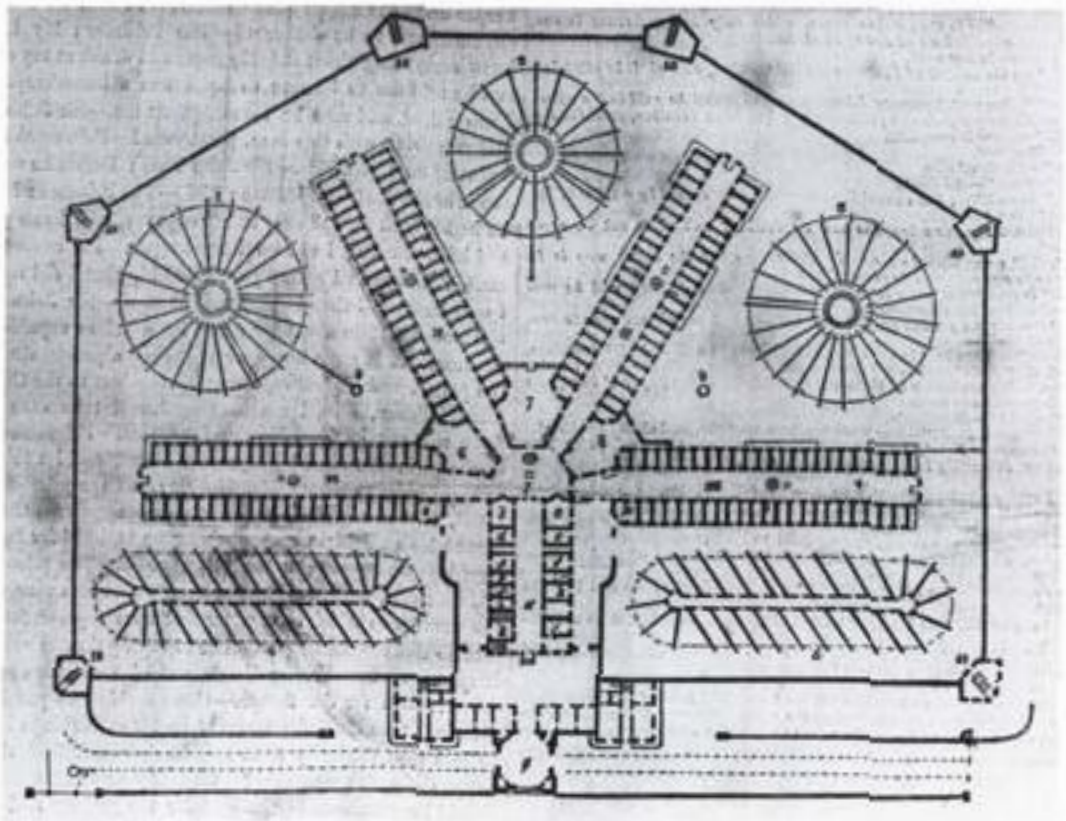


Figure 4.8
HMP Pentonville, Greater London. 1840–2. Joshua Jebb's plan of the ground floor. [From The Illustrated London News *7 Jan 1843, 5; BB013023]*

Figure 4.9 (above) HMP Pentonville, Greater London. Centre of prison. 1840–2 and later alterations. From the central hall of Pentonville staff could observe the whole prison. Bay windows allowed the governor and commissioners to see into the hall. [AA98/00336]

Figure 4.10 (right) HMP Pentonville, Greater London. A perspective view from the central hall along one of the cell blocks. 1840–2. The wings originally had three storeys and twenty-two bays, but were raised by one storey and lengthened between 1865 and 1872. [From The Illustrated London News *7 Jan 1843, 4; BB013027]*

Building work on Pentonville prison commenced in April 1840 and the first inmates were received in December 1842 (Fig 4.7).[50] The plan of the prison was very similar to that proposed by Crawford and Russell for a model prison for 500 in their fourth report (Fig 4.8). The main differences were the layout of the gatehouse, basements and exercise yards, the disposition of the reception and administrative offices in the entrance building, the location of the kitchen and the length of the wings. Entry to Pentonville was originally through a large *porte cochère*. It was flanked by two narrow ranges containing porters' accommodation and rooms for receiving new inmates, and by houses for the governor and chaplain. Beyond an enclosed court was the entrance building, which had reception facilities in the basement, offices on the ground floor and the chapel and convalescents' rooms on the first floor. The governor's and commissioners' offices on the ground floor had bay windows from which to observe the central hall (Fig 4.9). The hall was half-dodecagonal and open from floor to roof, with galleries at the level of the upper tiers of cells providing access to the chapel. Trays of food or materials could be lifted from the basement to the central hall by means of a hoist and distributed to the cells from trolleys which ran along the wing gallery handrails. The prison had four open wings, of three storeys and twenty-two bays, in a half-cartwheel plan (Fig 4.10). Two wings (C and D wings) had full basements: the former contained the kitchen, baths and workshop cells for carpenters; the latter was occupied by stores and punishment cells. There were 520 separate cells measuring 13ft by 7ft by 9ft high (3.9 × 2.1 × 2.7m), constructed so as to prevent communication between prisoners. Each cell contained a copper basin, which drained into an earthenware lavatory, a corner shelf, a table and stool, a hammock and a handle which, when turned, opened a label outside the cell and sounded a bell to alert an officer (Figs 4.11 and 4.12). The appearance of the separate cells at HMP Pentonville was similar to that described at Gloucester County Gaol in 1850:

> The furniture of the cells consists of a table, a three-legged stool, and an open corner cupboard, clean and white as new wood; and on the top of the latter the prisoner's hammock is placed in

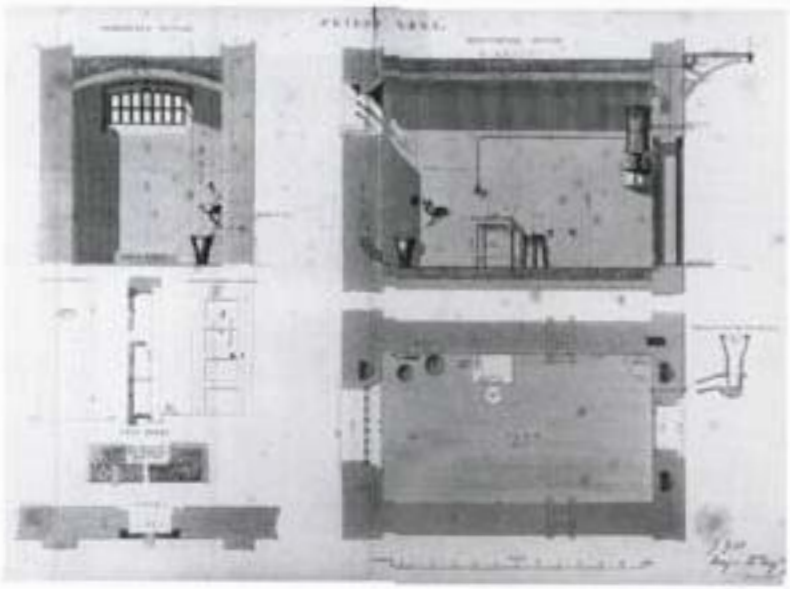


Figure 4.11 (above, right) HMP Pentonville, Greater London. Interior of cell. 1840–2. [From PP *1844 (594) XXVIII, pl 8]*

Figure 4.12 (above, left) Beaumaris Gaol, Anglesey. 1860s. Toilets and washbasins survive in some of the cells of this former gaol, the only extant original examples discovered in a prison. [BB98/13650]

> the day-time, made up not in nautical fashion, but like a roll of carpetting. A wash-hand bason, with water tap and wastepipe, a gas burner, and a copy of the prison regulations relative to the care and treatment of prisoners, are the remaining articles which are noticeable. The supply of water is limited in quantity, but is sufficiently abundant for all necessary purposes; and the gas light is extinguished at gun fire. The cells were pictures of cleanliness and order, whilst the few articles in use were turned to an ornamental purpose by their arrangement on the shelves of the cupboard. For instance, the tin pannikin, bright and shining, rested on a cushion formed by the fold of a clean towel, and was supported on one side by a knife and on the other side by a comb, just as tidy servant maids lay out their crockery on the kitchen shelf. A handle enables the inmate of the cell to strike a gong in the gallery, and summon the turnkey, whilst in pulling the handle, a plate bearing the number of the cell, flies off from the outside wall, and shows the officer which prisoner it is who has given the signal.[31]

The cell windows, which did not open, were situated high up in the wall, to prevent prisoners looking outside, and therefore, the cells needed a separate ventilation and heating system. The system employed at Pentonville was the ascending air system developed by the Hadens of Trowbridge since 1837 (Fig 4.13).[32] Fresh air from outside passed over a hot-water apparatus in the basement of each wing and was conveyed through flues in the corridor walls to a grating under the ceiling of each cell. Foul air was extracted through a vent near the floor (diagonally opposite that for fresh air), drawn through flues in the outer cell walls up to a foul-air shaft on the roof. In June 1840, Messrs Haden sent a system of pipes and a ventilator to Jebb's house at 3 Cambridge Street, London, and in November of that year they supplied a stove and other fittings for half of one wing at Pentonville. Further fittings were sent in October 1841 and eighteen ventilators and 'Patent Warming Apparatus' for three wings were provided in February 1842.[33]

Selected adult male convicts spent the first eighteen months of a sentence of transportation at Pentonville. They worked, slept and ate in their cells and only left them, wearing masks to prevent recognition, to attend chapel or to take exercise. The strict segregation of the cell blocks was extended to both the chapel and the airing yards. The chapel was constructed with tiered banks of individual, high-sided pews, which impeded sideways contact between prisoners, while allowing them to see the minister in front.[34] The exercise yards, which were wedge-shaped, were arranged in five circular or oval blocks around a central observation area.[35] In the months following Pentonville's opening, a number of commentators expressed reservations about the psychological effects of separation and articles in *The Times* and *The Illustrated London News* recorded incidents

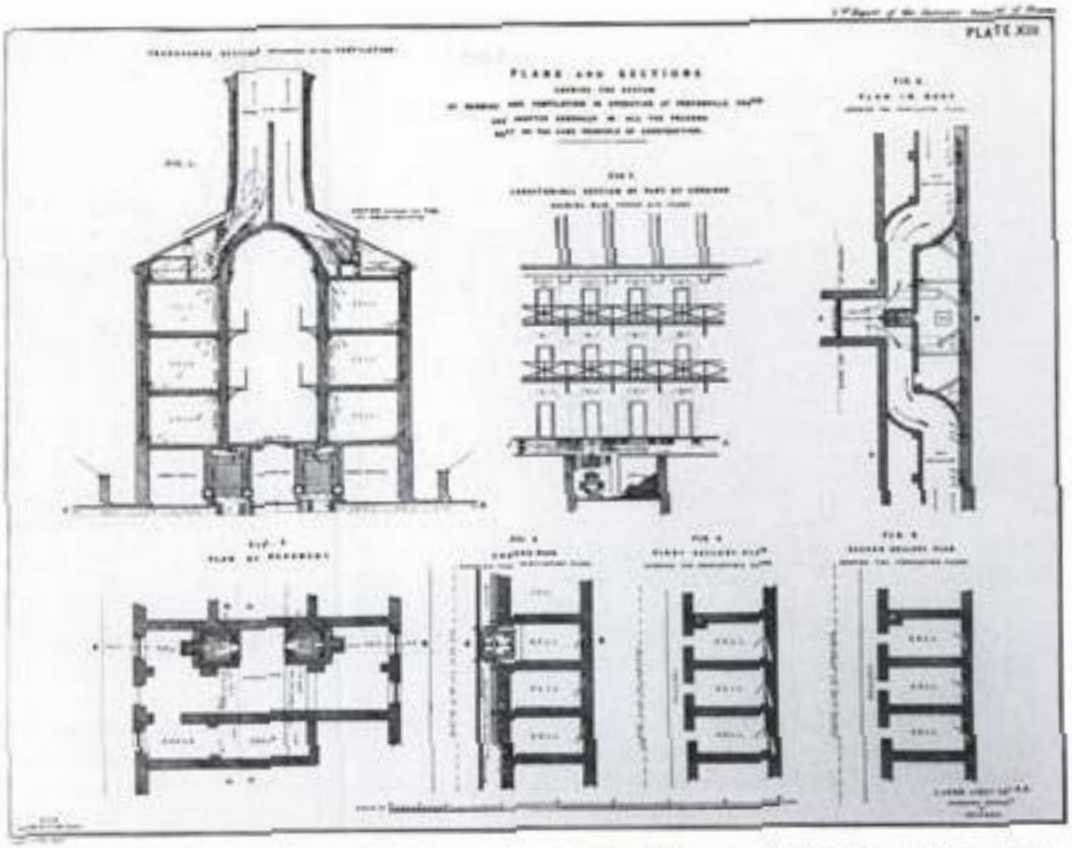


Figure 4.13
Cross-section through a prison wing showing the workings of the ascending air system of heating and ventilation developed by the Hadens of Trowbridge. [From RIP, 2(H), pl 13; BB98/10049]

of insanity caused by the regime.[56] These concerns did not prevent the separate system from being extended to county and borough prisons and Pentonville served as a model for a large local building programme in England and Wales over the next thirty years.

The Pentonville model of a separate-system prison was influential throughout Europe in the mid-19th century. At Perth, where a new general prison for Scotland was erected according to plans by Thomas Brown dated 1839, its example was only partially followed. Brown had been appointed architect to the Prison Board of Scotland in 1837 and he also designed Inverness County Prison and the debtors' prison on Calton Hill, Edinburgh.[57] Perth was to hold convicts sentenced to transportation during their probationary period, and inmates from all over Scotland serving sentences longer than nine months. The prison was to have four wings with separate cells, open landings and a plenum heating and ventilation system, although only the central two wings (B and C wings) were to be built immediately. The wings were arranged radially but were linked at their inner ends by a semicircular corridor, rather than a central open hall.[58] The governor could observe staff walking around the corridor from a detached central building, which contained offices and was surmounted by a tall plenum chimney. This arrangement was chosen, in place of the central hall advocated by the Home District Inspectors and Joshua Jebb, because of the constraints imposed by existing structures. These included the central building, which offered useful accommodation for offices and reception, and would have been costly to demolish, but could be replaced at a later date if necessary.

Local prisons, 1842–1877

The implementation of the separate system was made possible by the 1839 Prisons Act but did not become compulsory until 1865. The progress of its acceptance during the intervening period was uneven. Some counties were quick to embrace separation and by the end of 1843 work was underway at a number of prisons, including Chelmsford, Leeds, Leicester, Preston, Reading (Berkshire), Stafford and Wakefield. By 1847, 4,121 separate cells had been erected at 36 English and Welsh local prisons and a further 3,779 cells were in progress at 11 prisons.[59] In 1850 Jebb reported to a

Select Committee on prison discipline (the Grey Committee) that about sixty British prisons, including prisons in over thirty English and Welsh counties, had been or were being built or altered on the separate model.[60] The separate system was also imposed in some unmodified buildings and a return of 1856 showed that about two-thirds of English prisons had wholly or partially adopted it.[61] In some prisons only certain classes were held separately; in others, inmates slept in separate cells but might work and exercise together. Whether a county or borough rebuilt on a separate model or merely implemented the separate system depended on a number of factors, including the state of the existing prisons, the views of the District Prison Inspector and the receptiveness of the local Justices to reform. Some existing prisons were more readily adaptable to the separate system than others, but if they were not the county had to consider whether it could bear the expense of rebuilding. In 1834 only 36 out of 136 county and city prisons in England and Wales had provided sufficient sleeping cells for their inmates.[62] For the rest, even allowing for the subdivision of dayrooms and dormitories, more than 3,300 cells were lacking and the estimated expense of providing these was over £203,000, a reduction on Crawford's 1832 estimate of £267,000. Moreover, the majority of the cells would have been suitable only for sleeping in and not as places in which to work. Some counties, such as Hampshire, Surrey, Sussex and Warwickshire, considered or undertook the building of a new separate prison in order to unite disparate small prisons under one roof. Away from the Home District, other Prison Inspectors, including William John Williams, Bissett Hawkins and Frederick Hill, were less enthusiastic about the separate system and were slower to enforce compliance with it.[63] The Grey Committee was firmly in favour of separation as an instrument for deterrence, reformation and preventing contamination. It criticised the lack of uniformity of construction and discipline which still existed and recommended that every prison should have sufficient cells to keep all its prisoners separate. In the Northern and Eastern District, of fifty-three prisons only four – Leeds, Lincoln County, Lincoln City and Manchester – had wholly adopted the separate system by 1850, nine had partially adopted it and forty (75 per cent) did not practise it at all.[64] By the late 1850s, however, twelve of the sixteen English counties in the Southern District conformed to the separate system, as did fifteen of the seventeen English counties in the Midland District.[65] Many county and borough Justices were reluctant to impose the separate system, since they continued to regard it as experimental. Jebb himself had emphasised the adaptability of separate prisons to other systems of discipline.[66] A new City House of Correction, erected with his approval at Holloway between 1849 and 1852, had common workrooms in which the prisoners, who were classified, worked together in silence.[67] At Aylesbury, where a new radial prison was built between 1844 and 1847, the gaol-building committee were reluctant to commit themselves exclusively to separate confinement and they wanted dayrooms to be provided in the prison. The final design included airing yards on both the separate and associated systems.[68]

The construction of the new county prison at Aylesbury became a focus for disagreement between Whitworth Russell and Joshua Jebb, and was symptomatic of the wider dispute between the Inspectors and the Surveyor-General of Prisons.[69] Jebb's appointment as Surveyor-General in August 1844 formalised his right to scrutinise plans sent for the Home Secretary's approval. The Inspectors, however, continued to certify cells for separate confinement. Russell and Crawford sent Jebb grudging letters of congratulations and the former took the opportunity to express his reservations about the new post: 'I am as much opposed as ever to the office which has been created, and to the assignment of duties, as I understood them. Whilst you feel the office essential to you as placing you in a better position for doing your duties, I complain that it places us and the public in a worse.'[70]

At Aylesbury, Russell was not given the opportunity of inspecting the plans before work started and he subsequently disagreed with Jebb's decisions regarding the amount of accommodation, the provision of dayrooms and details of the construction.[71] He complained to Jebb in November 1844 that:

> An Inspector of Prisons is not to be precluded from giving the Magistrates of his own District any benefit which may arise from any knowledge or experience he may have, as to nature

> and amount of the accommodation to be provided in any Prison, because the Surveyor-General of Prison Buildings prepares and recommends his plans without any communication with such Inspector.[73]

The issue of the Inspectors' examination of plans arose again early in 1845. John Perry, Inspector of the Southern and Western District, was forced to withhold certificates from three prisons because Jebb had overlooked the provision of ventilation in them. He assured Jebb that 'I have no wish to interfere improperly between you and the Magistrates – I only desire the opportunity of offering my objections and suggestions at the commencement of the works rather than after they shall have been completed, by which much expense and disappointment *might* be avoided.'[74] William Crawford complained that he was not being given sufficient time to inspect the plans of Chelmsford County Gaol and House of Correction (Springfield Gaol) and requested that the Inspectors should be allowed to see prison plans before Jebb's report on them was finalised. James Graham, the Home Secretary, was forced to intervene in 1846 but the rivalry was largely ended by the deaths of both Crawford and Russell the following year.[75]

All plans for new prisons and wings were examined by Joshua Jebb and, if necessary, amended by him, before receiving the Home Secretary's approval. Jebb was also very active locally, attending meetings of gaol-building committees and visiting existing prisons to advise on the possibility of modifying them to the separate system. As early as December 1839 he examined Bedford County Gaol and House of Correction, together with Whitworth Russell, the County Surveyor and two local Justices. In June 1841 he was present at a meeting about enlarging Aylesbury County Gaol, and during a subsequent visit to Aylesbury in September 1843 he chose the site for a new prison. He visited the prison at Durham in 1842 and also attended meetings at, for example, Lincoln Castle in July 1843, Leicester in February 1845 and Holloway in October 1847. He responded to requests for estimates at Aylesbury in June 1841, and provided his own plans at Aylesbury in 1841 and 1843, at Durham in 1842, at Warwick in 1845 and at Lewes in 1848.[76] In 1845 Jebb published specifications for the construction and ventilation of separate prisons, which included a model design for a 250-cell prison with a cruciform plan.[77] As a consequence of Jebb's influence, the purpose-built radial prisons and the additions to existing prisons display a high degree of unity of design.

Radial prisons

Architects and builders

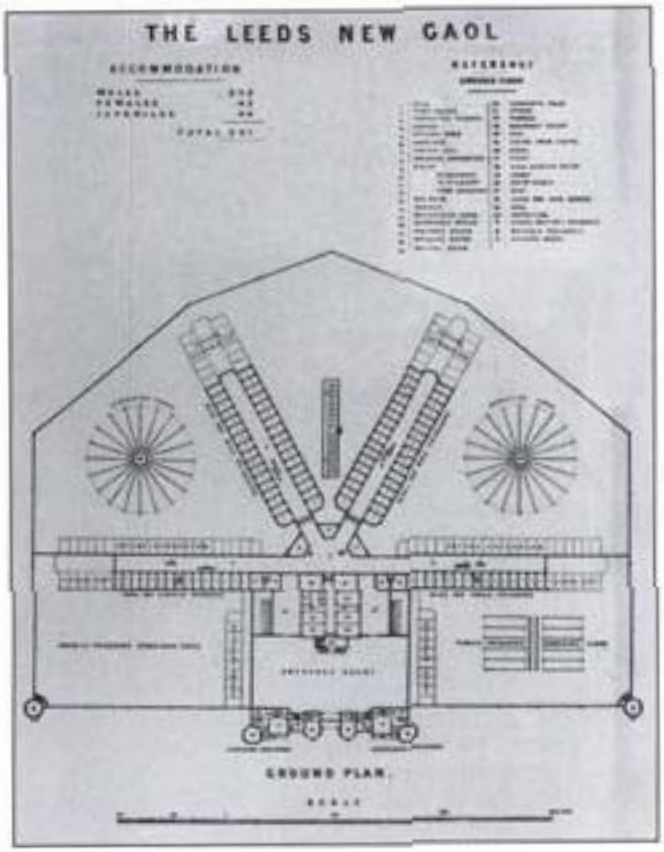
Nine county and five borough gaols and houses of correction were rebuilt using a radial plan between 1842 and 1865, together with a further three county and two borough prisons completed between 1865 and 1877 (Table 4.1 and Fig 4.14). The prisons were generally located on a greenfield site at the edge of the town. When a new house of correction was needed for the City of London a number of sites within the City were considered but, for reasons of cost, space and salubrity, an area of land at Holloway was chosen.[78] Some prisons, including Reading, Clerkenwell and Exeter, were rebuilt on the existing site. At others, like Wakefield and Coldbath Fields, the new prison was located adjacent to the existing one, which was retained as additional accommodation.

The County or Borough Surveyor designed seven of the prisons – Wakefield, Clerkenwell, Manchester City, Exeter, Holloway, Coldbath Fields and Hull – and may have supervised the building work at a further two, Winchester and Liverpool.[79] The remaining prisons were built by independent architects who had won a competition for the commission. The winning scheme at Reading, by George Gilbert Scott and William Bonython Moffat, was one of seventeen entries.[80] A competition at Lincoln in 1868 received twenty submissions from local, London and provincial architects.[81] Twelve of the proposals were rejected outright and four were sent to Bernard Hartley, Surveyor for the West Riding of Yorkshire and the architect of Wakefield House of Correction, for his consideration. The contract was awarded to Frederick Peck of London. At Leeds, the result of the competition was controversial.[82] William Hurst and William Lambie Moffat of Doncaster won but could not agree terms. Therefore two Leeds architects, William Perkin and Elisha Backhouse, were invited to build the prison using the

Table 4.1 Radial Prisons Built 1842–77

Name	*Date*	*Architect*	*No. of cells*
Reading County	1842–4	George Gilbert Scott & William Bonython Moffat	250
Leeds Borough	1843–7	William Perkin & Elisha Backhouse	291
Wakefield County	1843–7	Bernard Hartley (Yorks West Riding Surveyor)	*c* 800
Aylesbury County	1844–7	Charles James Peirce	285
Birmingham Borough	1845–9	Daniel Rowlinson Hill	321 (500)
Clerkenwell County	1846	William Moseley (Middx County Surveyor)	*c* 260
Winchester County	*c* 1846–9	Charles James Peirce & ?Stopher (Hants County Surveyor)	400
Manchester City	*c* 1847–9	George Shorland (Borough Surveyor)	486
Exeter County	1847–53	John Hayward (Devon County Surveyor)	*c* 300
Wandsworth County	1849–51	Daniel Rowlinson Hill	708 (968)
Holloway City	1849–52	James Bunstone Bunning (City Architect)	400
Lewes County	1850–3	Daniel Rowlinson Hill	256
Liverpool Borough	*c* 1850–4	Charles James Peirce & J Weightman (Borough Surveyor)	*c* 1000
Warwick County	1853–60	Daniel Rowlinson Hill	*c* 350
Coldbath Fields County	1863–70	Frederick Hyde Pownall (Middx County Surveyor)	*c* 1200
Salford (Manchester)	1864–8	Alfred Waterhouse	1059
Kingston upon Hull Borough	1865–9	David Thorpe (Corporation Surveyor)	388
Lincoln County	1868–72	Frederick Peck	213
Portsmouth Borough (Kingston)	1874–7	George Rake	156

Figure 4.14
HMP Wandsworth, Greater London. 1849–51. D R Hill. The larger radial prison, originally with four wings, was for men and the smaller one, originally with two wings, was for women. Both prisons were extended by one wing, in accordance with Hill's original plan, in 1857–60. The kitchen and laundry were situated between the two prisons. [18313/7]



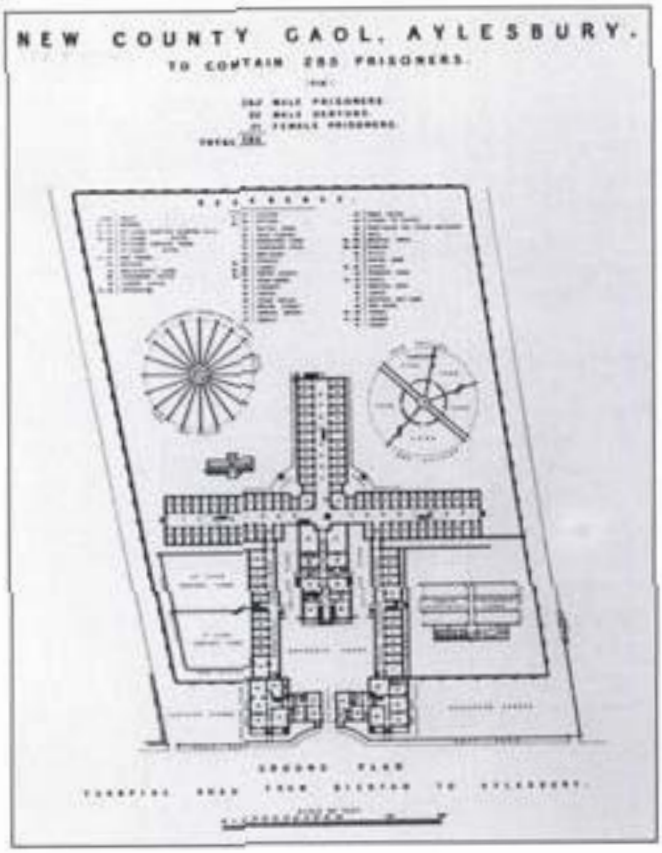


Figure 4.15 (above, left) HMP Leeds, West Yorkshire. Ground-floor plan. 1843–7. W Perkin and E Backhouse. The prison has a half-cartwheel plan and originally accommodated 291 male, female and juvenile prisoners. Possible future extensions to the juvenile and female wings (A and D wings), which were originally shorter and single-sided, are shown on the plan. [From RSGP 2, pl 5; BB98/13354]

Figure 4.16 (above, right) HMYOI Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire. Ground-floor plan. 1844–7. C J Peirce. This prison has a cruciform plan to accommodate 285 men, women and debtors. [From RSGP 2, pl 7; BB98/13352]

winning design. However, as additional accommodation was required, it is possible that they in fact produced a new plan. Two architects were particularly prolific during the 1840s and 1850s, Charles James Peirce and Daniel Rowlinson Hill. Peirce was said to be 'a gentleman of considerable experience', who had been employed at Pentonville by Joshua Jebb.[82] Jebb recommended his appointment as architect at Aylesbury, and he also designed Winchester and, probably, Liverpool.[83] Hill was the architect of Birmingham, Wandsworth, Lewes, Warwick and, with William Martin, of Cardiff (1854–7).[84] He possibly also designed Swansea which shares a distinctive feature of his work, namely the eaves of the wings being carried on arches where they meet the canted centre of the radiating plan. Two other architects of radial prisons were Alfred Waterhouse at Manchester and George Rake of Portsea at Kingston.[85]

A number of the early radial prisons were erected by the same builders and for some it was a precarious undertaking. The original builder of Reading, John Jay of London, was chosen from eight builders competing for the tender. However, he was declared bankrupt at the end of 1842 and George Baker and George William Baker of Lambeth completed the prison.[86] William Trego, of Coleman Street, London, started work on Holloway and Lewes in 1849 and 1850 respectively, but had fallen into 'pecuniary embarrassment' by October 1850.[87] He was succeeded at Holloway by a John Jay and at Lewes by Messrs Locke and Nesham, who also constructed Aylesbury and Wandsworth.[88]

Plan types and accommodation

Despite the constraints imposed on the general principles of design, there was considerable variation in the layout and appearance of buildings. Four main types of radial prison can be identified. First, there were prisons with four cell blocks radiating in a half-cartwheel plan, similar to Pentonville, as at Leeds, Wakefield, Manchester City and the City House of Correction, Holloway (Fig 4.15). Secondly, there were prisons with a cruciform layout similar to Jebb's 1845 published plan, including Aylesbury, Reading, Clerkenwell, Exeter, Lewes, Manchester female prison,

Hull and Lincoln (Fig 4.16). Thirdly, there were prisons with three to five cell blocks and an administration wing in a star-shaped arrangement. Winchester, Wandsworth male and female prisons, Manchester male prison and Kingston adopt this type of plan (Fig 4.17). Fourthly, there were prisons which combined a radial and linear plan, as at Birmingham, Liverpool, Warwick and Coldbath Fields (Fig 4.18).

There was great variation in the size of prisons. In general, the county and borough prisons had 200 to 400 cells, but those serving large urban areas held between 500 and 1,000 inmates. On average around 70 per cent of the cells were for adult males, as at Manchester, where 744 of a total of 1,059 cells were for men.[89] Many prisons built in the 1840s and 1850s had separate accommodation for different categories of prisoner. The county gaols at Reading and Aylesbury had cells for males, females and debtors.[90] Leeds Borough Gaol and the City House of Correction, Holloway, accommodated men, women and juveniles.[91] Cells were provided for both debtors and juveniles at Birmingham and Liverpool.[92] Winchester had cells for 312 men, 60 women, 20 male debtors, 2 female debtors and 6 misdemeanants (a total of 400).[93] At Lewes smaller cells were erected in B wing to hold thirty vagrants.[94]

Most radial prisons were constructed of brick but stone was also used at, for example, Leeds and Kingston, while Lewes was finished externally with knapped flint. The main entrance to a prison was through an imposing gatehouse, which contained the porter's lodge and was often castellated. Two symmetrical houses usually flanked the gatehouse for the governor and chaplain, as at Exeter (Fig 4.19). Immediately inside the gate was the entrance building,

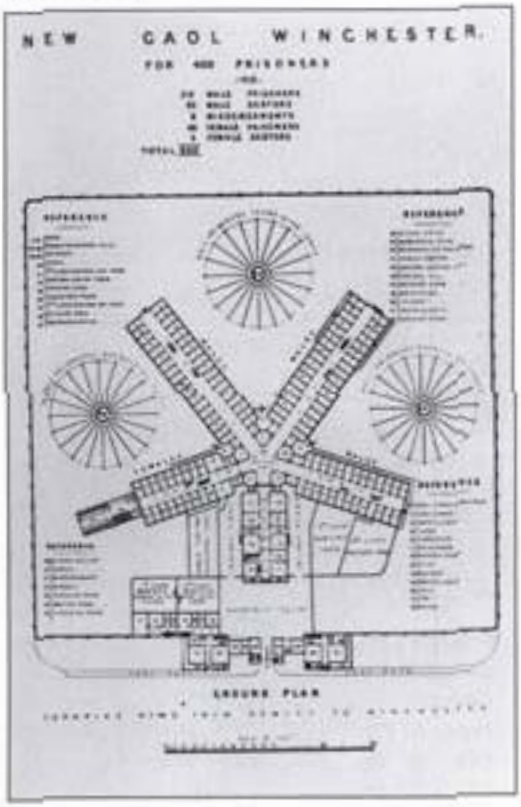


Figure 4.17
HMP Winchester, Hampshire. Ground-floor plan. c 1846–9. C J Peirce and Stopher, the Hampshire County Surveyor. The prison has a star-shaped plan and had cells for around 400 men, women, debtors and misdemeanants.
[From RSGP 2, pl 8; BB98/13351]

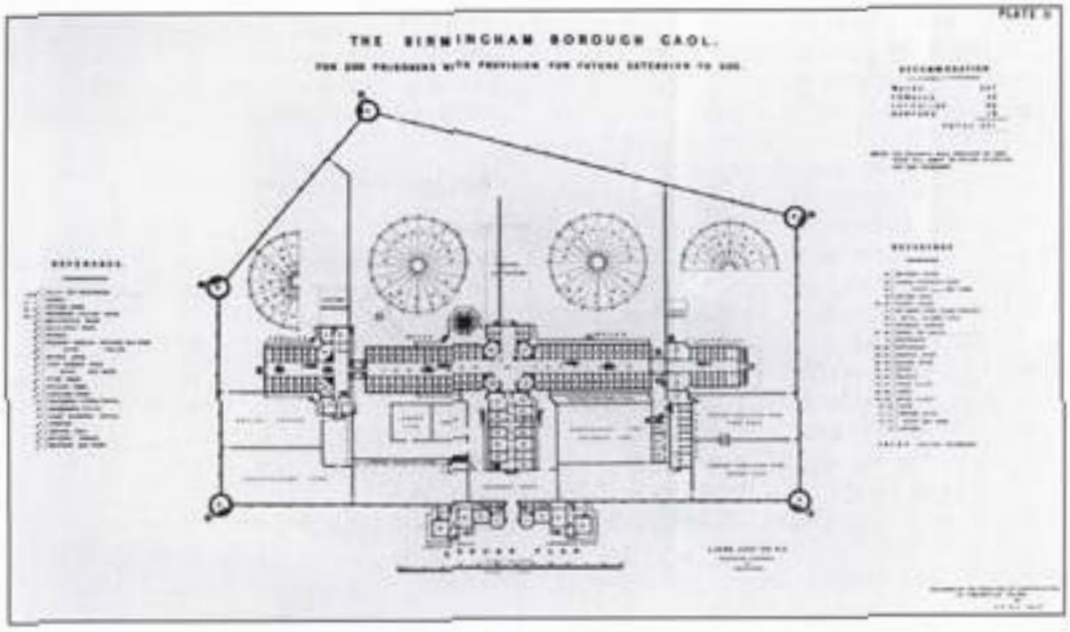


Figure 4.18
HMP Birmingham, West Midlands. Ground-floor plan. 1845–9. D R Hill. Birmingham contained accommodation for 321 men, women, debtors and juveniles. It has a combined radial and linear plan and was intended to be enlarged to hold 500 prisoners. The female wing (G wing) was extended in the early 1850s and a third male wing (B wing) was erected in 1855–9.
[From RSGP 2, pl 2; BB98/13356]

Figure 4.19
HMP Exeter, Devon. Gatehouse. 1807–9, c 1848–53. George Moneypenny, John Hayward, County Surveyor for Devon. The gatehouse of the house of correction was retained when the new prison was built. It is flanked by symmetrical houses for the governor and chaplain.
[BB98/01387]

Figure 4.20
HMYOI Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire. The front elevation of the entrance building and administrative block. 1844–7. C J Peirce. Entrance buildings usually contained male reception facilities in the basement, administrative offices on the ground floor and the chapel on the first floor.
[AA95/04422]

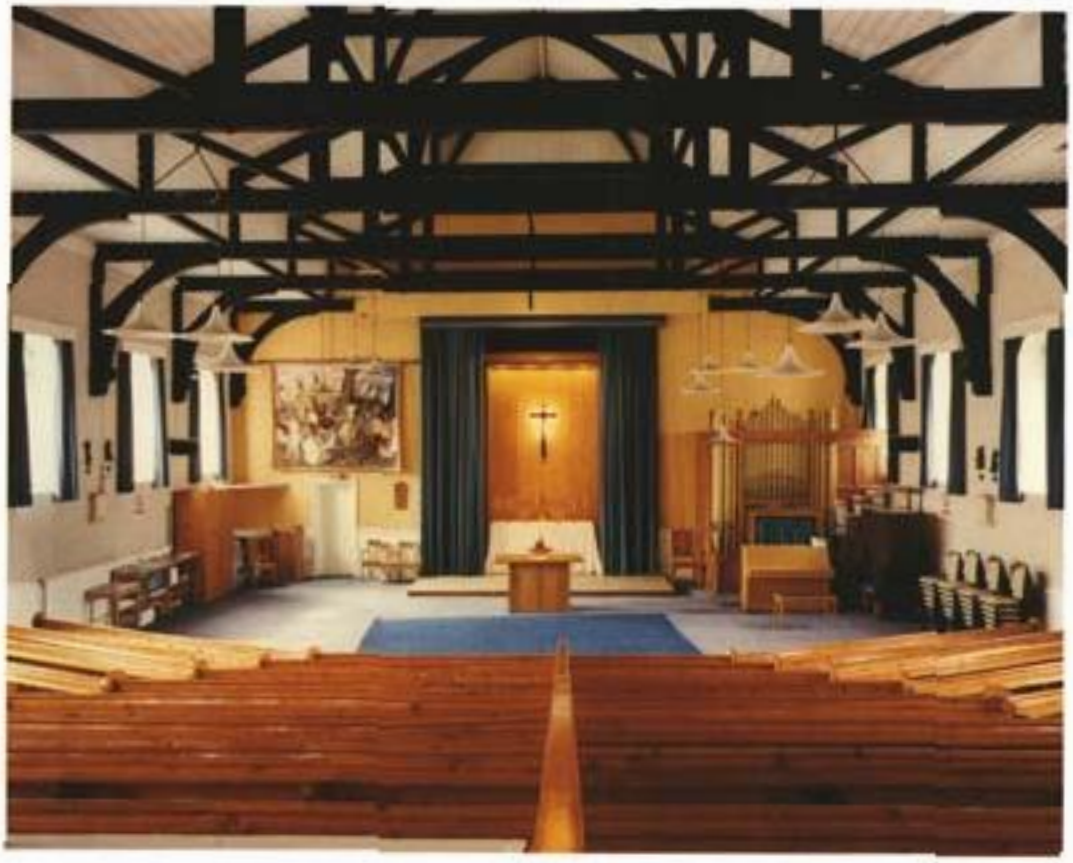


Figure 4.21 (above)
HMP Manchester, Greater Manchester. General view of F wing. 1864–8. Alfred Waterhouse. This T-shape wing housed the administration on the ground floor with the chapel above. A commemorative tablet in the entrance to the wing records the opening of the prison on 25 June 1868. [AA96/02459]

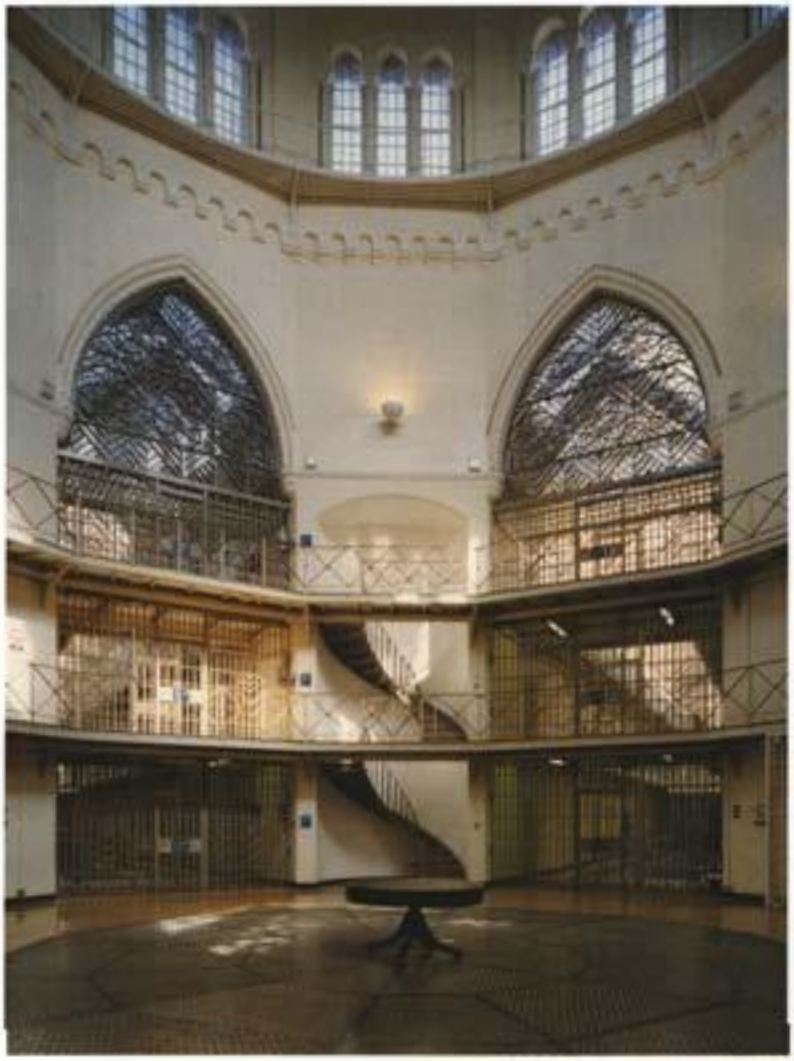
Figure 4.22
HMP Lincoln, Lincolnshire. Interior of chapel. 1869–72 and later refurbishment. Frederick Peck. Although the fittings are modern, the chapel in the prison is still in its original location. Its size reflects the requirement to seat every inmate. [AA96/04133]

Figure 4.23 (below, left) HMP Manchester, Greater Manchester. The centre of A to F wings, the former male prison, 1864–8. Alfred Waterhouse. The central hall is dodecagonal and lit by three clerestory windows in each face. [AA96/02490]

Figure 4.24 (below, right) HMP Manchester, Greater Manchester. General view of the former male prison taken from the top of the plenum tower. 1864–8. Alfred Waterhouse. [AA96/02485]

the front elevation of which was accorded an element of decoration (Figs 4.20 and 4.21). The administration occupied the ground floor, with rooms – such as offices for the governor, chaplain and medical officer, a committee room for the visiting Justices, a waiting room and a visiting room – on either side of a corridor leading to the central hall. Facilities for the reception of male prisoners were located in the basement and included a receiving room, examination room, clothing store, fumigating closet and baths. The chapel was usually found above the administration, occupying two storeys, with tiered single pews and a gallery at one end (Fig 4.22 and *see* Fig 4.37). This chapel/administration wing was generally rectangular in plan, but Wandsworth, Reading and Wakefield were three exceptions to this. At Wandsworth the wing had two distinct compartments, an outer rectangular part with offices flanking a corridor and an inner hexagonal part where offices were ranged around a hall. At Reading, a T-plan wing contained offices, which opened inwards on to a central corridor, and debtors' sleeping cells, which opened outwards on to an external gallery leading to a dayroom. At Wakefield, the wing was very small and only accommodated offices, while the chapel occupied a polygonal building at the outer end of A wing.

The entrance building led into the central inspection hall from which the wings radiated (Figs 4.23 and 4.24). The hall, which was open from floor to roof, was polygonal or half-polygonal in shape (Figs 4.25 and 4.26). Spiral staircases rose to galleries that circled the hall in continuation of those serving the upper tiers of cells (Fig 4.27). Opening off some halls, in the angles between the wings, were rooms that served as offices for staff. At Birmingham they included offices for the governor, chief warder and surgeon and a visiting room on the ground floor, and rooms for trade instructors and misdemeanants on the first floor (*see* Fig 4.18). Around the hall radiated the cell blocks, which numbered from two (at Wandsworth female prison originally and at Lincoln) to five (at Manchester male prison). The cell blocks were usually of three or four storeys, although at Kingston they have two floors and at Liverpool they have five (Fig 4.28). They range in length from six bays at B wing, Reading, to thirty-five bays at C wing, Wandsworth, added in the 1850s. The main wings were for adult male prisoners and they were generally



double-sided with tiers of cells on either side of the central atrium (Figs 4.29 and 4.30). The galleries serving the upper levels of cells were reached by staircases in the wings and were enclosed by iron railings.

Separate accommodation was provided in early radial prisons for women, juveniles and debtors, often in wings with cells on one side only of a corridor. Female offenders were held in one of the radial wings, in a detached wing, or in another, smaller radial prison. Separate reception facilities *were provided, often in the wing basement.* Juveniles' and debtors' wings could be either attached to, or detached from, the main prison. The juveniles' accommodation usually included a schoolroom and debtors were provided with sleeping cells and day-rooms. At Leeds, women and juveniles were housed in two of the radial wings (A and D wings), which were originally single-sided (*see* Fig 4.15). At Winchester, women were held in A wing, south of which was a detached building for some debtors, while the remaining debtors occupied the basement of D wing (*see* Fig 4.17). At Lewes, women and debtors occupied single-sided wings which lay perpendicular to the entrance building, while at Aylesbury these wings were parallel to it (*see* Fig 4.16). At Birmingham, men occupied the central, radial section of the linear-plan prison, while a T-shape women's wing (G wing) was at the north end and the juveniles' (D wing) and debtors' (E wing, demolished) wings were at the south end (*see* Fig 4.18). Women had their own radial prisons at Wandsworth and Manchester (Fig 4.31). The later prisons such as Manchester provided accommodation for adult male and female offenders only. With the growth of a network of reformatory schools for juvenile offenders after 1854 little provision had to be made for children within prisons. Furthermore, successive Acts reduced the numbers of insolvents committed to prison and the 1869 Debtors Act largely abolished imprisonment for debt.

Extensions

A number of radial prisons built during the 1840s and 1850s were enlarged within ten or twenty years of being completed. At Birmingham, Wandsworth and Leeds the additions were planned from the start and are shown on early plans as possible future extensions.[95] The female prison at Birmingham (G wing) was extended from seven to fourteen bays in the early 1850s, and the central male wing (B wing) was lengthened from two to twenty-four bays (possibly in two stages) in the late 1850s (*see* Fig 4.18).[96] New wings (C and G wings) were added to the male and female prisons

Figure 4.25 (below, right) HMP Wandsworth, Greater London. The central hall of the former male prison. 1849–51. D R Hill. Five cell blocks and the administration wing radiate from the dodecagonal central hall. Six offices open off the hall on each floor and two spiral staircases are set into alcoves in the wall. [AA96/00836]

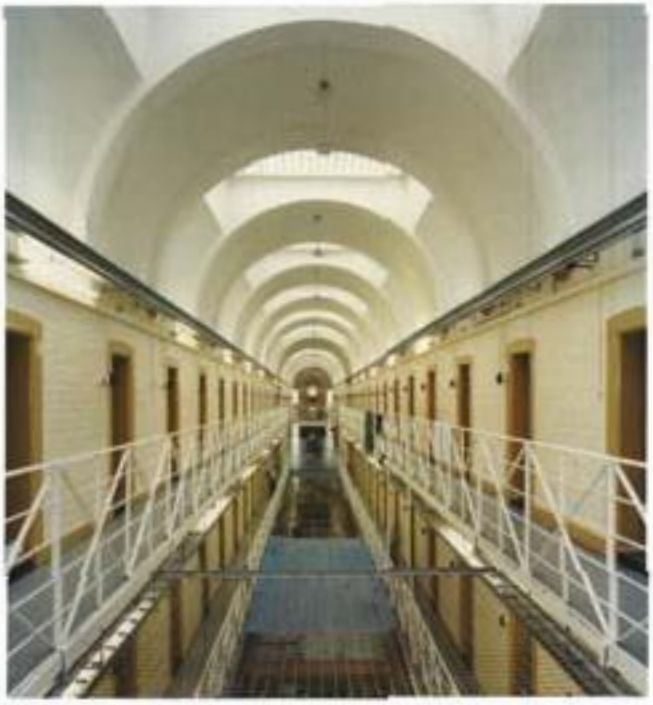
Figure 4.26 (below, left) HMP Wandsworth, Greater London. Ceiling of the central hall of the former male prison. 1849–51. D R Hill. [AA96/00838]

Figure 4.27 (opposite) HMP Leeds, West Yorkshire. The central hall. 1843–7, W Perkin and E Backhouse. The centre hall is half-dodecagonal in shape. A spiral staircase gives access to the upper levels. A square outline in the ceiling indicates the position of a hoist mechanism for raising food trolleys to higher storeys. [AA95/05543]

Figure 4.28 HMP Lewes, East Sussex, A wing, 1850–3, D R Hill. The prison has a cruciform plan and is constructed of flint with brick quoins and dressings. It originally held 256 men, women, debtors and vagrants, with the latter being held in the smaller cells of B wing. [AA95/04302]

at Wandsworth between 1857 and 1860, increasing the accommodation from 708 to 968 cells (742 male and 226 female).[97] The intended extension of Leeds was only partially achieved by adding a second row of cells to the juvenile wing (A wing), probably by 1856.[98] The women's wing may have been doubled-up in the early 1870s, when forty-two female cells were added, but the cell blocks were not lengthened until after 1877.[99]

Additional accommodation was also provided at Lewes and Wakefield. At the former, the female wing (F wing) had been extended by about 1860, and two male wings (A and C wings) were lengthened in around 1870 to provide 120 extra cells.[100] At the latter, A and D wings were heightened from three to four storeys by 1877, increasing their accommodation from 160 to 212 (D wing) and 216 (A wing) cells.[101]



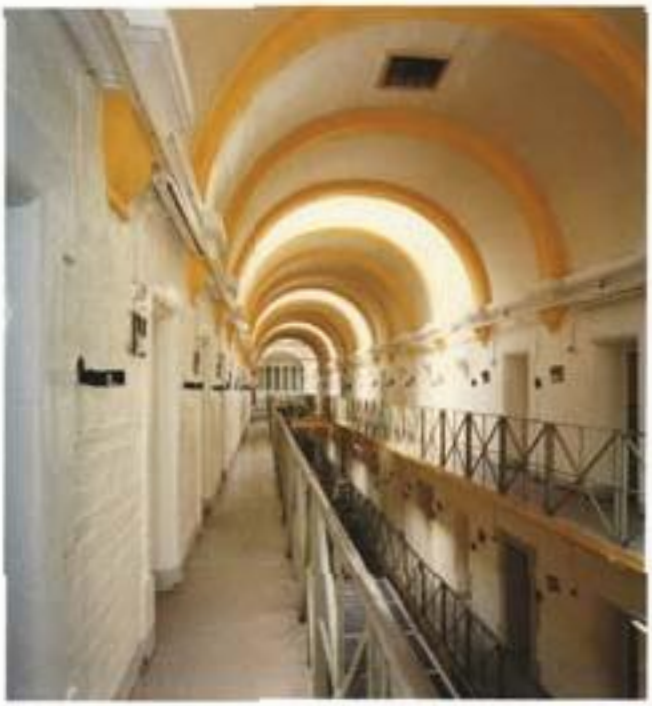


Figure 4.29 (above, left) HMP Wakefield, West Yorkshire. Interior of wing. 1843–7. Bernard Hartley, Surveyor for the West Riding of Yorkshire. The prison was erected adjacent to the existing house of correction. All four original wings have twenty-seven bays and four storeys. However, A and D wings were built with only three floors and were heightened by 1875. [AA95/05752]

Figure 4.30 (above, right) HMP Leeds, West Yorkshire. Interior of wing. 1843–7. W Perkin and E Backhouse. B and C wings originally held male prisoners. A and D wings, for juveniles and women, were formerly shorter and had cells on one side only. The second rows of cells were added in the 1850s and 1870s respectively. All four wings were extended after 1880. [AA95/05557]

Small prisons

In addition to the large radial prisons, a number of smaller separate prisons were also erected. A new city gaol for Bath was constructed at Twerton in 1841–3 to the designs of George Phillips Manners, with a three-storeyed building containing the governor's house and administration and a three-storeyed cell block with 127 cells.[102] New borough gaols were built at Northampton in 1844–5 and at Plymouth in 1849. The former was designed by William Hull and contained sixty-nine cells.[103] The latter, erected to the designs of Messrs Fuller and Gingell of Bath, was a small radial prison with three two-storeyed wings.[104] A new prison for St Albans Liberty was constructed according to plans by William Martin between 1867 and 1871.[105] The male prison was a radial with two three-storeyed wings and the female prison was a single-sided, two-storey block. In 1877 it had seventy-seven male and ten female cells.[106]

Piecemeal adaptations

Many counties and boroughs chose to adapt their existing prisons to the separate system rather than rebuild them. Some of these prisons were rebuilt either by their local authority during the 1860s and 1870s or by the Prison Commissioners after 1878. However, others with fabric dating from before 1840 remain in use as working prisons today, including Bedford, Chelmsford, Gloucester, Leicester, Maidstone, Shepton Mallet and Stafford. These prisons occupied restricted town-centre sites and included a number of castles. They displayed a variety of plan types and their cell blocks, many of which were divided by longitudinal walls, contained dayrooms and small sleeping cells which were unsuitable for separate occupation. They were brought into some sort of conformity with the requirements of separation by a combination of the addition of new, Pentonville-style wings and alterations to the existing buildings. During the 1840s separate cell blocks were erected at Leicester (A and B wings, 1842–6), Stafford (A, B and C wings, 1843–6), Gloucester (A and B wings, 1844–8), Canterbury (A wing, 1846–9, extended 1858–9) and Bedford (A, B and C wings, 1848–9) (Fig 4.32).[107] At Gloucester and Stafford spacious new chapels were also provided. Wings were added to a number of prisons during the 1850s and early 1860s including Oxford, Bodmin, Huntingdon, Maidstone, Knutsford, Northallerton (North Yorkshire), Newcastle upon Tyne and Newgate (Figs 4.33 and 4.34).[108] The existing fabric of some prisons was modified, as for example at Stafford and Chelmsford. The Crescent at Stafford,

Figure 4.31
HMP Manchester, Greater Manchester. Block plan before 1990. 1864–8. Alfred Waterhouse.

a single-sided prison completed in 1834, was extended in length, width and height and gutted internally thirty years later to create a galleried, double-sided wing (Fig 4.35).[109] Chelmsford, an early 19th-century radial prison with seven detached wings, was adapted into a post-Pentonville prison with four attached wings. Between 1843 and 1847 a central inspection hall was built against the governor's house, which became offices and a chapel. B and C wings, formerly single-sided cell blocks, were doubled-up by the addition of a new corridor and a parallel row of cells, and extended in length by four bays.[110] Other prisons were progressively rebuilt as separate-system prisons. Preston's four radial wings were erected over a period of nearly thirty years: D wing had been built in 1842–3; B wing and the centre were added in 1847; C wing was erected 1865–6 and A wing was completed in 1870 (Fig 4.36).[111] C wing may have been designed by Alfred Waterhouse, who was engaged on building the new prison at Manchester between 1864 and 1868.[112]

Figure 4.32
HMP Gloucester, Gloucestershire. Exterior of wings flanking original gate. 1844–8. Thomas Fulljames, County Surveyor. Two wings were built on either side of William Blackburn's 1780s gatehouse, which had been redundant since the area of the prison was extended. The gate was raised by one storey when the wings were added. [BB97/06604]

Figure 4.33 (above) Former prison at Oxford, Oxfordshire. D wing and A wing. 1790s and 1852–6. The new separate-system wings were considerably larger than earlier cell blocks, a consequence of their novel architectural form and the increased numbers of inmates. [AA96/05988]

Figure 4.34 (opposite) Newgate Gaol, Greater London. Interior of male wing. 1859. This photograph was taken c 1900 immediately after the prison closed and shortly before it was demolished. A smaller female wing was also built in 1862. [DD87/10]

A new wing containing 100 separate cells, a central hall and chapel were added to Kirkdale in 1847, designed by Arthur H Holme. His original plan, in the form of a saltire, allowed for the erection of three future wings.[113] Two were built in the mid-1860s and the fourth was added in 1868 to the designs of William Martin, the former partner of D R Hill, and John H Chamberlain, who also carried out work at a number of Welsh prisons (including Mold, Carmarthen, Swansea and Cardiff).[114] Many prisons had new wings added in anticipation of, and as a consequence of, the provisions of the 1865 Prison Act, which made the separate system compulsory. Some examples of extensions made to prisons at this date have already been given. Others included new wings at Huntingdon (1866), Carlisle (1869) and Newcastle (1871).[115] A major reconstruction of Worcester was undertaken between 1864 and 1869, Durham was extended between 1868 and 1876, Derby was enlarged during the 1870s and Ipswich was remodelled internally in 1877.[116]

Although many prisons occupied the site of a castle, only six retained substantial medieval remains by the mid-19th century: Chester, Lancaster, Lincoln, Norwich, Oxford and York. Prison buildings had been erected at the castles in the late 18th and early 19th centuries and, despite the limitations of their sites, five castles were provided with Pentonville-style wings. A chapel and a three-storey cell block were built at Lincoln Castle between 1845 and 1848 (Figs 4.37 and 4.38).[117] The cell block contains a short four-bay female wing, with accommodation for the matron, which is separated from a larger male wing (Fig 4.39). The male wing is divided into a two-bay and a seven-bay section by an area which looks like a centre of a radial prison and this may indicate an intention to extend the wing and add further wings at a future date. A female wing, laundry and wash-house were constructed at Oxford Castle in 1848–50, followed by a new male wing (A wing) in 1852–6 (Fig 4.40).[118] A new wing of 160 cells was added to York Castle in 1849.[119]

Figure 4.35 (above) HMP Stafford, Staffordshire. Interior of the Crescent wing, 1834 and 1864. The wing was extended and remodelled internally in 1864. At this date the second line of cells was added and the internal atrium created. [AA95/05865]

Figure 4.36 (opposite) HMP Preston, Lancashire. C wing interior, 1865–6. Possibly by Alfred Waterhouse. Although no architect is mentioned in documents relating to this wing, and there are no references to it in Waterhouse's papers, it is possible that he had an involvement in its design. [AA95/04480]

A wing at Lancaster, a five-storey block of 1793 with inside cells, was gutted, outside cells and a central corridor were inserted and a three-storey, six-bay extension was added by 1877.[120] Chester Castle was enlarged between 1867 and 1870 by the addition of a three-storey, crescent-shaped wing, to the designs of Robert Griffiths.[121]

Services

Separate prisons of the mid-19th century required a few, limited services, including a heating and ventilation system, airing yards, a kitchen, a laundry and wash-house, infirmaries for men and women and staff quarters. Prisons were warmed and ventilated by the rising-air system, similar to that developed by Messrs Haden of Trowbridge for Pentonville. Rival systems were provided by John Sylvester at Derby, by H C Price of Derby Street, London, at Huntingdon and Oxford and by a Mr Day, whose apparatus was considered for Aylesbury.[122] However, it was the Hadens who became the principal suppliers of warm-air and hot-water apparatus to all types of prisons. They also supplied equipment for kitchens and laundries, stoves, cisterns, pumps and hoists. Early orders for heating systems were received from Hereford, Reading, Shrewsbury and Wakefield prisons in 1842 and 1843.[123] At Lewes, where four boilers were ordered in March 1852, a total of £1,814 3s was spent on ventilation and hot-water apparatus.[124] Their heating and ventilation system required one or more plenum towers for the waste-air flues. Most radial prisons had one for each cell block, situated in the centre of the wing roof. However, Reading, Exeter and Winchester had one plenum over the central hall and at Manchester and Holloway there was a single, detached tower (Fig 4.41).

Prisons erected during the 1840s were usually provided with circular groups of segmental exercise yards like those at the model prison at Pentonville. Gloucester had been provided with similar airing yards by 1850 and, according to a contemporary description, they consisted of: 'four or five spaces, partially roofed and divided by walls, each of which, as well as the whole space, is shaped like a wedge, and opening into a common room at the small end; so that one officer stationed there can, through

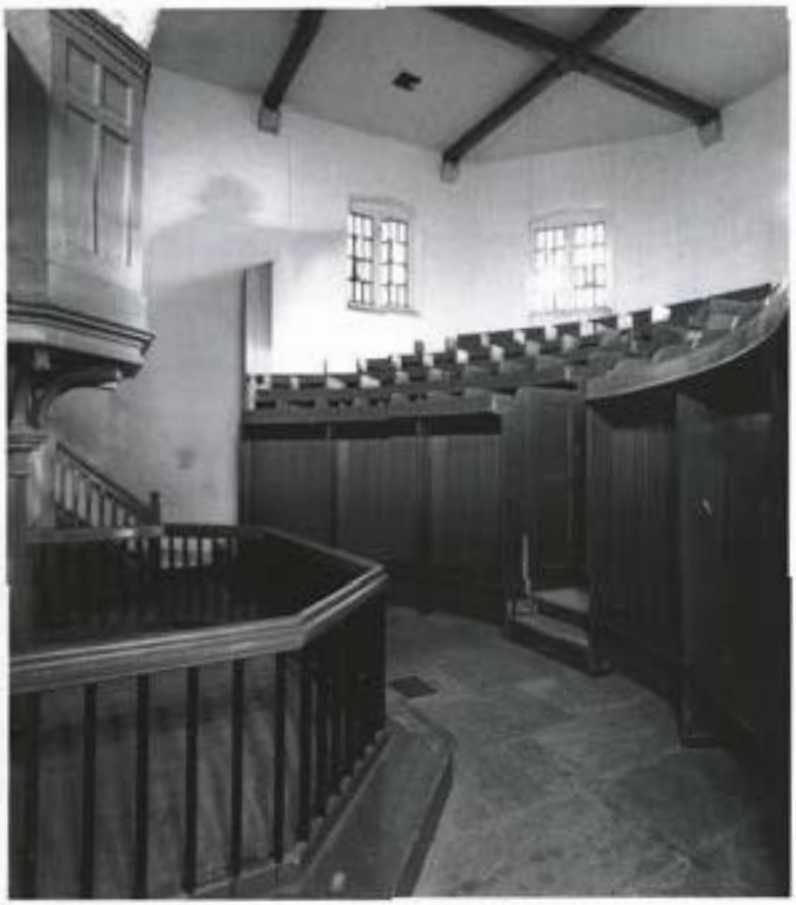


*Figure 4.37 (above) Lincoln Castle County Gaol, Lincolnshire. Interior of chapel. 1845–8. W A Nicholson. The chapel retains its individual pews for prisoners. A similar arrangement in the chapel at Gloucester County Gaol was described in 1850 as follows: 'The seats ... are divided by an ingenious arrangement of the doors into 400 separate boxes, the occupants of which can all see the minister, but cannot see each other. This is effected by raising the seats row by row, like a steep gallery, so that each prisoner looks over the head of the prisoner before him ...' (*Gloucestershire Journal *19 October 1850). [BB97/06694]*

peep holes in the doors, overlook the whole of the prisoners' wards whilst they are taking exercise'.[125]

By contrast, Stafford at the same date still had a multiplicity of yards in which different classes of prisoner exercised.[126] In 1851–2 the separate yards at Pentonville were cleared to form open, circular yards with concentric brick paths.[127] Prisoners were roped together in small groups, which moved in crocodile fashion around the paths. New prisons, such as Liverpool, were built with exercise rings and the enclosed yards were swept away from other prisons (Fig 4.42).[128]

The kitchen employed male inmates while female prisoners worked in the laundry and wash-house. Therefore, these facilities were usually located close to their workers' respective wings. In radial prisons, the kitchen was normally situated at the inner end of the basement of one wing, as at Pentonville. However, at Lincoln it occupied a wing north of the centre, and at Wandsworth and Manchester it was in a building between the male and female prisons.[129] The laundry and washing cells were placed either in the basement of the female wing, as at Reading, Birmingham and Leeds, or in a separate building close to it. The washing cells at Reading were soon

Figure 4.38 (opposite, bottom)
Lincoln Castle County Gaol, Lincolnshire. Exterior. 1845–8. W A Nicholson. A long three-storeyed wing was added to the late 18th-century prison immediately after Pentonville. This prison remained open until a new prison was built on the edge of the city in 1872.
[BB97/06690]

Figure 4.39 (left)
Lincoln Castle County Gaol, Lincolnshire. Interior of female wing. 1845–8. W A Nicholson. The 1840s wing was divided into a long male section and this shorter female section.
[AA96/05810]

Figure 4.40 (below)
Former prison at Oxford, Oxfordshire. Interior of A wing. 1852–6. The wing, which originally held male prisoners, was one of the wings built soon after Pentonville on existing prison sites to provide separate-system accommodation.
[AA96/05994]

found to be unsatisfactory and they were moved to an external building.[130] Plans for a basement laundry at Aylesbury were abandoned in favour of a detached building in the women's yard.[131] Washing apparatus was ordered from the Hadens in September 1851 for a new laundry at Birmingham, erected when the female wing was extended.[132] At Winchester, the laundry and wash-house occupied a single-storeyed building attached to the outer end of the female wing, at Wandsworth and Lincoln they were situated close to it, and at Manchester they were located along with the kitchen, between the two prisons.[133] New laundries were also provided at prisons adapted to the separate system. These included Leicester, where a laundry was erected in 1846; Bedford, where the new female wing of 1848–9 contained a laundry and wash-house; and Oxford Castle,

Figure 4.41
HMP Manchester, Greater Manchester. The single, detached plenum tower. 1864–8. Alfred Waterhouse. The extraction tower for the heating and ventilation system, situated between the former male and female prisons, is 234ft (71m) high. [AA96/02482]

where a U-plan laundry and wash-house were erected adjacent to the new female wing between 1848 and 1851.[134]

Separate male and female infirmaries were usually provided. In radial prisons the former was located in the entrance building or a cell block and the latter was situated in the women's wing. Aylesbury and Winchester followed Pentonville in having the male infirmary adjacent to the chapel above the administration.[135] Alternatively, a number of cells might be amalgamated for this purpose, as at Wandsworth where the infirmaries for men and women were located in E and K wings respectively.[136] The debtors' wing at Birmingham contained wards for sick male prisoners.[137] At Wakefield and Kingston, the male and female hospitals shared a building. A joint hospital erected at Wakefield in 1838 continued to serve the new radial prison and B wing at Kingston was originally a single-storey infirmary, divided longitudinally into separate facilities for the two sexes.[138] New infirmaries were constructed at other prisons, including Huntingdon (1850), Chelmsford (1852 and 1860–1) and Derby (1874).[139]

By the mid-19th century, the governor, chaplain and their families lived outside the perimeter wall of a prison. Houses flanking the gatehouse of a radial prison were provided for them and similar accommodation was added at other prisons, for example Bedford.[140] At Chelmsford, the original governor's house was converted into offices when the central hall was created in the 1840s.[141] New, external houses were built for the governor and chaplain; the former has been demolished, but the latter survives as the officers' mess and club. Accommodation for other members of staff was made available within the main body of radial prisons. Rooms around the centre or in cell blocks were set aside for warders, and quarters for the matron and schoolmaster were found in the female and juvenile wings respectively, as at Leeds and Birmingham.[142] Similar accommodation was provided at other prisons, as for example at Leicester, where a house for the matron was added to the female wing in 1846.[143] Turrets at the angles of the perimeter wall offered further rooms for officers. Four towers at Reading, for example, housed the deputy governor, matron and two warders.[144]

McHardy survey, 1877

A detailed picture of nearly half of English and Welsh prisons open in 1877 is available from a survey undertaken in the autumn of that year by Colonel Alexander Burness McHardy.[145] He visited fifty-one county and borough prisons in the north and east of England and the north of Wales between 29 September and 23 November 1877. His handwritten volume of over 240 pages contains for most prisons a sketch plan and a systematic description under twelve different headings. These cover a prison's layout and construction; the number and size of cells; services, other buildings and attached land; possible extensions and the labour available for building work. The prisons of the south and west of the country were presumably also covered but no record of them has survived.

The Carnarvon Committee and the 1865 Prison Act

During the 1850s many of the strictest elements of the separate system were relaxed in both Pentonville and local prisons. The time convicts spent in separate confinement at Pentonville was reduced to nine months by 1853 and the use of masks for inmates when they were out of their cells was abandoned. Circular paths replaced the separate yards, and segregation during religious worship was ended. Open benches replaced the individual stalls in Pentonville's chapel in 1859 and a number of local prisons followed suit, including Winchester in 1861.[146] However, during the 1860s and 1870s penal discipline became more severe, with the reformation of offenders being seen as a secondary consideration. Many of the alterations and additions to prisons undertaken during this period were to bring them into conformity with the 1865 Prison Act. The Act embodied the recommendations of the Select Committee of the House of Lords, which was appointed in February 1863 to examine prison discipline, under the chairmanship of Henry H M Herbert, Lord Carnarvon.[147] The immediate impetus for establishing the Select Committee had been a number of violent garrottings and robberies in London during the winter of 1862–3, but Carnarvon himself was simultaneously involved with reforming his local county gaol at Winchester. From January 1863 he headed an inquiry into the penal system in Hampshire, assisted from 1864 by Sir Walter Crofton, the former Chairman of the Irish Convict Prisons Board. The Hampshire committee postponed the completion of its own report until after the publication of the Select Committee's, but both made many of the same recommendations.[148] The Select Committee found 'an inequality, uncertainty and inefficiency of punishment' caused by a great variation in the buildings, labour, diet and discipline of prisons. It recommended the adoption of uniform standards in these areas, with the separate system forming the 'foundation of prison discipline'. For Carnarvon, punishment and deterrence were the primary aims of imprisonment. He favoured the implementation of a progressive stages system, measured by marks. All offenders, whether undergoing a short sentence or starting a long one, should be subjected to the penal discipline of hard labour; industrial employment and other improvements to a prisoner's condition would be introduced as his hard work and good conduct promoted him through the classes. Other recommendations covered the legal definition of hard labour, the embodiment of prison rules in statute and the introduction of the plank bed and evening schooling. The Carnarvon Committee's proposed regime was, in Jebb's words, one of 'hard labour, hard fare, and hard bed' (*see* Fig I.1).[149]

The Home Secretary, George Grey, presented a bill 'for amending the law relating to gaols, and for the discontinuance of certain gaols' to Parliament, in May 1864. However, in the face of opposition and a lack of time, it was withdrawn in July. A new prison bill was presented the following February, was referred to a Select Committee in March and, with minor amendments, received royal assent in July. The Act came into effect on 1 February 1866.[150] Under it, every local prison authority had either to maintain a prison with certified separate cells equal in number to the average maximum number of prisoners held during the past five years, or to contract to send its prisoners to the prison of another authority. Local authorities

Figure 4.42
HMP Winchester, Hampshire. Inmates walking around exercise rings. 1970s photograph. Although no longer forced to march around the rings, as in the 19th century, inmates still continued to use them for exercise. Most rings have now been replaced by plain yards or gardens. [Uncatalogued former Central Office of Information negative]

could alter, enlarge or rebuild their prisons with the approval of the Home Secretary subsequent to his examination of their plans, specifications and estimates. The formal distinction between gaols and houses of correction was ended. There were to be two classes of hard labour, the first of which included the treadwheel and crank and was to be undertaken for at least the first three months of a sentence. One hundred and four regulations were to be applied to the management of prisons and fourteen prisons were to be discontinued.

Reformatory schools

The 1835 Select Committee of the House of Lords had recommended that an existing network of private reformatory schools for young offenders should be extended into the public arena.[151] Although a reformatory prison for boys sentenced to transportation opened at Parkhurst on the Isle of Wight in 1838, the Committee's recommendation was not finally achieved until the 1850s. A conference about criminal and destitute children was held in Birmingham in December 1851. It was convened by Mary Carpenter, a philanthropist and author of *Reformatory Schools for the Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes* (1851), and Matthew Davenport Hill, Recorder of Birmingham (and brother of the Prison Inspector, Frederick Hill). A Select Committee was set up to examine this issue and its report of June 1853 recommended that children should be removed from the ordinary prison system.[152] The Government should establish, maintain and inspect penal reformatories for juveniles convicted of serious offences, support reformatory schools for educating and correcting those guilty of minor offences and contract with the managers of private reformatory schools. Under the 1854 Youthful Offenders Act, reformatory schools established by individuals and charitable bodies became subject to examination by Prison Inspectors and had to be certified by the Home Secretary.[153] Convicted young offenders aged under 16 could be sent to a reformatory school for two to five years after serving a short sentence in prison. Parents were to contribute to their maintenance costs. Seven reformatories in England were certified between August and December 1854, including Kingswood and Red Lodge in Bristol which had been founded by Mary Carpenter. Between 1855 and 1857 a further forty reformatories were certified and in December 1857 the forty-seven schools had 1,866 inmates (1,609 boys and 257 girls).[154] Their stated principle was that: 'the helpless and neglected boy ought to be dealt with differently from the responsible man, and that the child is as much and as justly an object of reformatory education as the adult is of punishment'.[155]

Attempts were made to reform the law with respect to reformatories: a proposed amendment to an Act of 1856 would have removed the preliminary prison term and in 1857 Lord Carnarvon sought unsuccessfully to raise the age limit to 20.[156] The Reformatory Schools Act of 1857 was intended to encourage the establishment of more reformatories by allowing county and borough authorities to make grants of money for building new schools or extending existing ones, subject to the Home Secretary's approval of the plans.[157] Most of the reformatory schools open in 1857 occupied domestic buildings such as a farmhouse with attached land of between 10 and 30 acres (4.1 and 12.1 hectares) in the countryside, or a house and garden in urban areas.[158] At least fourteen were in new premises, of which four were built on a quadrangular plan. The requisite accommodation included a schoolroom, dormitories, punishment cells, a chapel and an exercise yard. The children received schoolteaching, religious instruction, and agricultural and industrial training.[159] One school, the Akbar Hulk Reformatory at Liverpool, taught boys the rudiments of sailing. The juveniles were released on licence and were found employment, returned to relatives, encouraged to emigrate or joined the armed forces.[160] The Revd Sydney Turner was appointed Inspector of Reformatory Schools in 1857, a post he held until 1876. He was the former chaplain and superintendent of a farm school at Red Hill in Surrey, which had been founded by the Philanthropic Society in 1849 on the model of the agricultural colony of Mettray in France. From 1861 he was also the Inspector of Industrial Schools that had been established since 1857 for educating and disciplining refractory and destitute children, many of whom were guilty of minor offences but had not been to prison.[161] The legislation dealing with reformatory and industrial schools was

consolidated into two acts in 1866.[162] By the end of 1876, there were fifty-three reformatory schools and 118 industrial schools in England.[163]

Closures

More than half the county, borough and liberty prisons open in the late 1830s had been closed by 1877, when there were 113 local prisons in England and Wales. Most of the prisons abolished were small gaols under corporate or peculiar jurisdiction, although some county prisons were also discontinued. The 1835 Select Committee of the House of Lords had recommended that the inmates of those municipal and franchise prisons which could not impose suitable discipline should be sent to county gaols.[164] Throughout the period the Prison Inspectors criticised the small size, poor living conditions and lax discipline of such prisons in their annual reports.[165] In 1850, the gaols at Southampton, Banbury, Windsor and Hastings were said by the Home District Inspectors to be in a discreditable condition.[166] Some borough gaols were enlarged and others were rebuilt to provide separate accommodation. New prisons were built, for example, at Bath, Ely, Hereford, Northampton, Peterborough, Tiverton and Wisbech.[167] A number of boroughs contracted with the county gaol to receive their prisoners, either closing their own gaol altogether or retaining it as a police lockup. Nevertheless, half of the fifty English borough and liberty gaols listed in the 1856 return had not introduced the separate system, even partially.[168] An Act of 1858 closed a number of franchise prisons and in 1863 Lord Carnarvon could report that since 1856 six borough prisons had closed and others had been provided with separate cells.[169] However, the Carnarvon Committee concluded that most small borough gaols remained insecure, inefficient, uneconomic and unable to impose proper separation or supervision.[170] Of 193 English and Welsh prisons open in 1862, 63 held less than 25 prisoners and of these 27 had fewer than 6 inmates. The report recommended that, if the boroughs did not contract with the county gaol, such prisons should either amalgamate with larger prisons or be closed. The 1865 Prison Act abolished thirteen borough prisons and one liberty prison, and other municipal gaols closed between then and 1877, including those at York, Chester and Great Yarmouth.[171] Hull and Portsmouth were replaced by new prisons on new sites in 1870 and 1877 respectively and Worcester City Gaol was amalgamated with the county gaol in 1867.[172]

Several county gaols and houses of correction were also closed between 1840 and 1877. Some, such as Abingdon and Fisherton Anger, probably closed because they failed to meet the requirements of the 1865 Act.[173] The Prison Inspectors repeatedly condemned the two county prisons for Cumberland, Appleby and Kendal, in the early 1870s, although both were eventually rebuilt between 1874 and 1877.[174] In Surrey and Lincolnshire, several small prisons were united under one roof. The completion of a new prison at Wandsworth in 1852 led to the closure of the houses of correction at Brixton, Guildford and Kingston upon Thames.[175] When a new central prison opened in Lincoln in 1872, the three houses of correction at Louth, Kirton and Spilsby serving the Parts of Lindsey, one of the county's three administrative districts, were closed.[176] A further simplification occurred in 1878, with the closure of Lincoln Castle County Gaol, Folkingham House of Correction and three borough gaols.[177]

Successive measures were undertaken by the Government between 1835 and 1877 to enforce greater uniformity in, and centralised control of, penal discipline and prison architecture. The 200-plus gaols and houses of correction in England and Wales in the late 1830s were reduced by 1877 to 113 local prisons. Regimes based on association and classification were superseded by the separate system, although disparities persisted in the way prisons were run. A major rebuilding campaign undertaken in the thirty-five years after 1842 to provide prisons with separate cells transformed their physical appearance. The process of centralising and rationalising county and borough prisons continued with the passing of the 1877 Prison Act. Local prisons were brought under complete national control and they were further reduced in number. The creation of the Prison Commission under this Act would lead to new developments in the discipline, design and facilities of local prisons during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

5
Convict Prisons and Military Prisoners, *c* 1840–1900

The punishment of malefactors sentenced for serious but non-capital offences was the responsibility of central government and not the local prison authorities. During the 18th century, convicts were sentenced to transportation overseas rather than imprisonment in Britain. Transportation to America was halted by the outbreak of the American War of Independence in 1776 and an alternative means of punishing convicts was required. As a temporary measure they were held in the hulks of old naval ships moored on the Thames, whilst undertaking public works on the river. A proposed system of penitentiaries failed to be established and transportation was restarted in principle by an Act of 1784. In practice it got underway three years later, when the first convict vessel left England for the new Australian colony of New South Wales. A second penal colony was established in 1803 in Van Diemen's Land (renamed Tasmania in 1856). The hulks were retained for confining convicts prior to, and instead of, transportation and new ones were put into use on the Thames and on the south coast. Despite mounting opposition, transportation and the hulks continued to be used into the second half of the 19th century. However, they were supplemented, and then replaced, by other forms of punishment – cellular confinement, associated public works and penal servitude.

The cellular confinement of convicts, as an alternative to their transportation, had been introduced in the National Penitentiary at Millbank in 1816. Six hundred male and four hundred female convicts, for whom there was a reasonable hope of reformation, were subjected to a progressively staged regime. They spent the first half of their sentence in separate cells and the second half working in association with other inmates. After March 1832 the whole sentence was passed in separate confinement. After 1842, with the opening of the Government's model prison at Pentonville, a probationary period of separate confinement was imposed on adult male convicts before they were transported. From 1848, purpose-built public-works prisons were erected to supersede the hulks, the last of which was decommissioned in 1857. These prisons differed from Pentonville in design and regime, since the inmates worked together during the day and occupied their cells only at night. Specialist prisons were also developed for juvenile, female and invalid convicts. A sentence of penal servitude in a British prison was introduced in 1853 to replace short terms of transportation. It was extended to long sentences in 1857 and transportation to Australia finally ceased in 1867.

Transportation and penal servitude

During the 1830s opposition was expressed against the hulks, transportation in general and the assignment system (*see* below) in particular. A Select Committee was appointed in 1831 to inquire into secondary punishments. Its report of June 1832 condemned the lax discipline on the hulks, where inmates were free to associate and communicate, and the lenient work undertaken by them.[1] The Committee argued that a sentence of transportation alone was not sufficiently deterrent and that a penal element should be added to it in England. They proposed an improved system of hard labour in a purpose-built 'convict establishment', to be erected as a substitute for the hulks, in which convicts would be separated at night. The architect Robert Smirke, who was attached to the Office of Works from 1813 to 1832, estimated that a prison for

1,000 convicts would cost £65,000.[2] A Select Committee on transportation was appointed in 1837 under the chairmanship of Sir William Molesworth. The Committee's report of August 1838 condemned the assignment system, whereby free settlers employed the majority of convicts in Australia as field labourers, domestic servants or mechanics.[3] Other transportees remained under government control, labouring on public works and in road gangs or being consigned to a penal colony. The condition of a convict in the colonies was a 'mere lottery' and the system failed both to impose a uniform punishment and to reform the offender. The Molesworth Committee recommended the abolition of the assignment system and the cessation of transportation to New South Wales and the settled areas of Van Diemen's Land. In its place, the Government should establish a penitentiary system at home or abroad, whereby convicts would be imprisoned in houses of confinement and subjected to hard labour. Furthermore, an attempt should be made to implement the proposals of Alexander Maconochie, private secretary to Sir John Franklin, the Lieutenant-Governor of Van Diemen's Land.

Captain Alexander Maconochie served in the Royal Navy from 1803 to 1855. He was the founder secretary of the Geographical Society and between 1833 and 1836 had been the first Professor of Geography at the University of London. When he left England in 1836 to accompany Franklin to Van Diemen's Land, he was asked by the SIPD to report on the treatment of convicts in the colony. Maconochie condemned the existing arrangements and advocated instead a progressive system of rewards and penalties.[4] Under his proposed system, the length of a prisoner's sentence would be determined not by time but by his own conduct. A sentence would be divided into a series of stages, each of which allowed a decrease of punishment and an increase in privileges. A prisoner would be awarded marks for good behaviour and industry and could also lose them. After accumulating a certain number of marks, he or she would be promoted to the next stage.

Lord Howick (later Earl Grey), the Secretary of War, prompted by the recommendations of the Molesworth Committee, suggested in November 1838 that penitentiaries should be built in Britain for 2,000 convicts and that more convicts should be held on the hulks at home and in Bermuda. The following January, Lord Russell, the Home Secretary, reviewed the situation and put forward his own proposals.[5] About 4,000 convicts were being transported each year at a cost of £60,000 per annum. If all transportees were imprisoned in England, the cost would be £120,000 in the hulks, £220,000 in silent-system prisons and £360,000 in separate-system prisons. Russell proposed that convicts sentenced to seven years' transportation should be held in the hulks at home and in Bermuda. For the first two years they should undertake irksome labour, before starting a probationary period of less arduous work carried out in association. They should be allowed to save some of their earnings and have some possibility of remission. Convicts sentenced to more than seven years would continue to be transported to Norfolk Island (Australia), Tasman's Peninsula or a new Australian colony. Finally, a penitentiary for 500 to 1,000 convicts should be built in the United Kingdom.

Lord Russell's proposals were only partly implemented. He approved the construction of a model penitentiary for 500 convicts, which was erected at Pentonville between 1840 and 1842, and transportation to New South Wales ceased in 1840. Maconochie was appointed as superintendent of the penal colony on Norfolk Island in February 1840 and proceeded to implement his progressive-stages system. However, later that year Russell decided that the experiment was not a success and no more convicts were sent there. Maconochie had faced a number of problems which contributed to the failure of his scheme.[6] The colony contained not only the newly transported convicts from England, who were subject to Maconochie's regime, but also inmates who had committed offences in the colonies after their arrival. Furthermore, the convicts were unable legally to leave the island until they had served their full sentence, even if they had earned sufficient marks to be released. Maconochie returned to England in 1844. Five years later he was made Governor of Birmingham Borough Gaol where he attempted, unsuccessfully, to impose the marks system until his dismissal in 1851. He subsequently published three books about prison discipline.[7]

Lord Stanley, the Colonial Secretary, implemented an alternative to the assignment system in November 1842. Under the probation system, a sentence of transportation was divided into a series of defined stages, advancement through which was determined by a convict's behaviour. The aim of the new system was 'to keep alive an invigorating hope, and a salutary dread' at every stage of a sentence.[8] The opening of the model prison in December 1842 allowed an element of deterrence to be added to a sentence prior to embarkation. Selected adult male convicts were held in separate confinement in Pentonville for eighteen months and subjected to reformatory influences. Parkhurst fulfilled a similar role for juveniles, while other adult convicts were imprisoned in the hulks or Millbank. Once in Van Diemen's Land convicts progressed through four or five stages of punishment. All adult male convicts sentenced to life imprisonment spent two to four years undertaking hard labour on Norfolk Island, together with those convicted of serious crimes in the colonies. The second stage for these convicts, and the first for convicts sentenced to less than life, was spent in graded probationary gangs, labouring for one to two years on public works in unpopulated areas of the colony. During the third stage, convicts held a probationary pass, which had three progressive classes and entitled the holder to engage in paid work for a private employer. In the fourth stage a convict was released on licence and became a ticket-of-leave holder, and the fifth stage was a conditional or absolute pardon. A convict's conduct during his probationary period at Pentonville determined whether he was transported with a ticket-of-leave or probationary pass, or whether he was confined in a penal colony on arrival in the Antipodes.

The cessation of transportation to New South Wales in 1840 had left Van Diemen's Land as the only outlet for convicts, and large numbers were sent there during the early 1840s. By 1846 the colony was in crisis, with the supply of convicts exceeding the demand for them, and so transportation was suspended for two years.[9] George Grey, the Home Secretary, requested that Joshua Jebb, the Surveyor-General of Prisons, should consider a scheme for employing convicts on public works at home and accommodating them in purpose-built prisons instead of the hulks. Jebb proposed adding a second probationary period to a sentence of transportation.[10] Sentences of seven and ten years would be substituted by shorter terms of imprisonment in the United Kingdom.

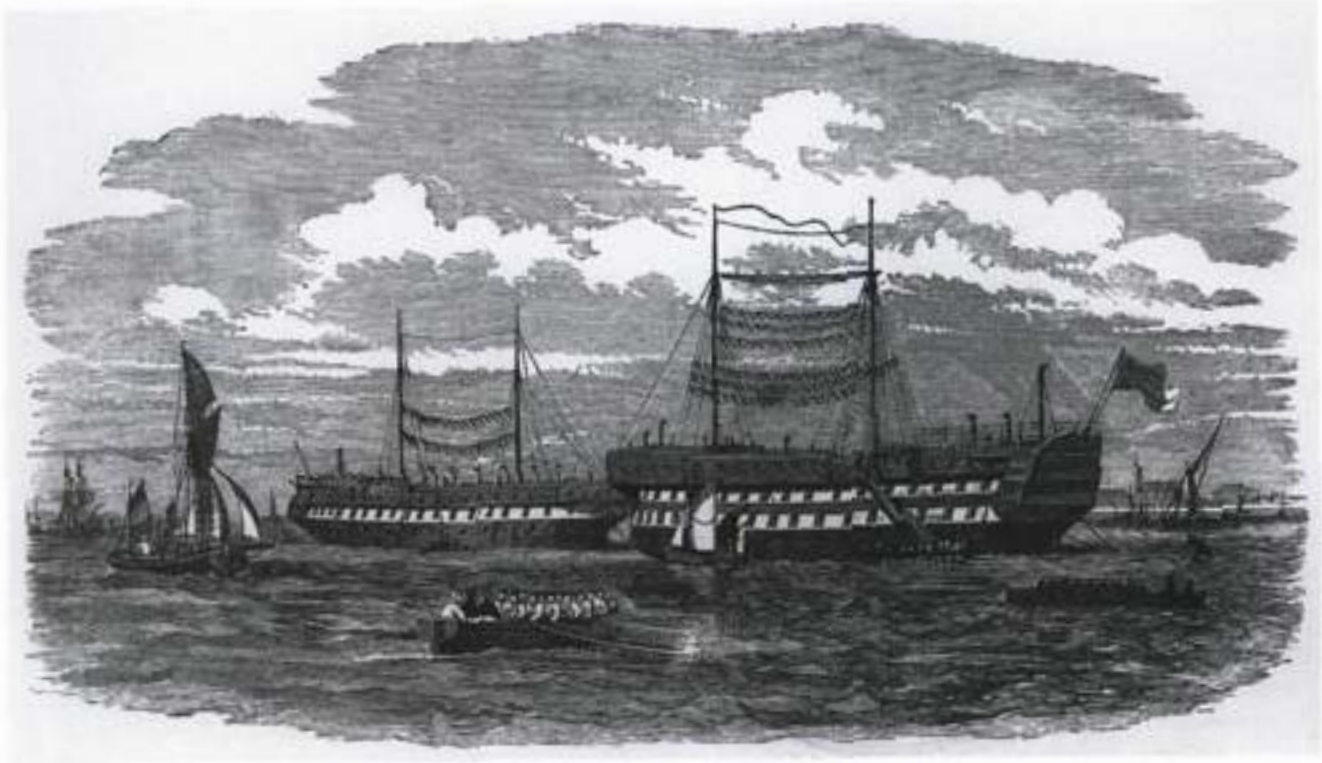


Figure 5.1
The Defence *hulk and the* Unité *convict hospital ship, off Woolwich. This engraving shows the last two convict hulks at Woolwich, the* Defence *and the* Unité *hospital ship. The* Defence *held invalid convicts before being destroyed by fire in 1857. [From Mayhew and Binny 1862; BB97/09669]*

A convict might spend one year in separate confinement and then three years undertaking hard labour in a public-works prison. The first of these prisons opened at Portland (Dorset) in 1848 with accommodation for 840 convicts but in 1851 1,800 able-bodied convicts labouring on public works were still being held in four hulks, the *Justitia* and *Warrior* at Woolwich and the *Stirling Castle* and *York* at Portsmouth.[11] The hulks were objectionable on the grounds of both health and discipline. They were overcrowded and the insanitary conditions contributed to a high death rate amongst their inmates. No proper separation of prisoners was possible, allowing free association and communication between offenders. However, the number of convicts being held in hulks was reduced after 1852. Portland was extended and a second public-works prison opened at Portsmouth, providing accommodation for 2,540 convicts in the two prisons by 1853.[12] The Portsmouth hulks were abandoned, leaving 980 inmates in the *Defence* and the *Warrior* at Woolwich (Fig 5.1).

Between 1848 and 1853, a sentence of transportation for able-bodied adult males had four progressive stages. Separate confinement, which was reduced to twelve months, was followed by imprisonment with associated hard labour in a public-works prison or a hulk. Convicts were assigned to one of three classes according to their behaviour in the first stage. The amount of time spent in a public-works prison depended on both the length of a convict's sentence and his conduct, since exemplary behaviour was rewarded by earlier embarkation to the Antipodes. Convicts were transported with a ticket-of-leave to Van Diemen's Land or, after 1849, to the new colony of Western Australia, where they subsequently received a pardon so long as they did not return. Women were imprisoned in Millbank and then sent to Van Diemen's Land. Invalid convicts continued to be held in the *Stirling Castle* at Portsmouth and then the *Defence* at Woolwich. The use of hulks in British waters ended in July 1857, when the *Defence* was destroyed by fire.[13]

A new sentence of penal servitude was introduced in 1853, following the refusal of Van Diemen's Land to accept any more convicts.[14] Under the 1853 Penal Servitude Act, sentences of less than fourteen years' transportation were to be replaced by penal servitude in British prisons.[15] The term of imprisonment at home was shorter than the sentence of transportation, so that seven years' transportation became four years' penal servitude. Male convicts sentenced to more than fourteen years continued to be transported to Western Australia. In Great Britain, a sentence of penal discipline entailed three stages: separate confinement, reduced again to nine months, followed by three classes of associated labour on public works, and then release on licence at home. In Ireland, however, a variant system with an additional, 'intermediate' stage was developed by Walter Crofton, who from 1854 until 1862 was the first Chairman of the Irish Convict Prisons' Board.[16] After undergoing separate confinement in Mountjoy Prison in Dublin, Irish convicts performed hard labour in the public-works prison on Spike Island in Cork harbour. After February 1856, they were then held in intermediate prisons at Smithfield in Dublin and Lusk (Co Dublin), where the inmates enjoyed greater freedom and worked unattended outside the prison in preparation for their discharge. Subsequent to their release, ticket-of-leave holders were subject to close police supervision. Jebb withstood pressure to establish a similar system in England. He believed that a relaxation of discipline would lessen deterrence and that police supervision would impede former convicts from obtaining honest employment.[17] However, in May 1856 the Refuge for female convicts opened at Fulham (*see* below) to which selected women were sent after passing the first stages of their sentence at Millbank and Brixton.[18]

The sentence of penal servitude was modified in 1857 and 1864. The 1857 Penal Servitude Act abolished the sentence of transportation and imposed longer terms of penal servitude on all convicts.[19] Part of a sentence could be remitted for good behaviour and some convicts serving over seven years were released on licence in Western Australia. The 'garrotting scare' of 1862–3, which led to the Carnarvon Committee on local prisons, also saw the setting up of a Commission to examine transportation and penal servitude. The Commissioners, under the chairmanship of Earl Grey, believed that transportation was not 'sufficiently dreaded', and they identified a correlation between a recent increase in crime and a decrease in the length of sentences.[20]

They called for a minimum term of seven years' penal servitude and more severe punishment for habitual criminals. All able-bodied male convicts should be sent to Western Australia, while those who had to be released on licence at home should be subject to strict supervision. The 1864 Penal Servitude Act set a new minimum of five years for first offenders and seven years for convicts with a previous felony conviction.[21] The Government decided to end transportation altogether and the last convict ship set sail for Western Australia in 1867. The extension of penal servitude and the abolition of transportation necessitated both the extension of the existing public-works prisons and the erection of four new ones between 1856 and 1884.

Directors of Convict Prisons

Convict prisons, both for separate confinement and for public works, were under central government control (*see* Table 5.1). Until 1850, they were the responsibility of the Surveyor-General of Prisons, a post created in 1844 for Joshua Jebb. Under the 1850 Convict Prisons Act, a separate Directorate of Convict Prisons was established, the first chairman of which was Jebb.[22] Jebb died in 1863 and was succeeded as chairman of the Directorate of Convict Prisons, Surveyor-General of Prisons and Inspector-General of Military Prisons by Edmund Yeamans Walcott Henderson. Henderson, a lieutenant colonel in the Royal Engineers, had been Comptroller of Convicts in Western Australia from 1850 to 1863. Following his appointment as Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police in 1869, Henderson was replaced by Edmund Du Cane. Du Cane had joined the Royal Engineers at Chatham in 1848, and was then posted to Woolwich. After a brief period on the organising staff of the Great Exhibition of 1851, he sailed for Western Australia. He worked in the Swan River colony under Henderson, supervising convict labour on a variety of public works, including the building of prisons. He was mobilised for the Crimean War in 1856 but heard of the cessation of hostilities whilst travelling back to England. He took up a post under the Inspector-General of Fortifications, designing defences for dockyards and naval bases at Plymouth and Dover. On Henderson's recommendation, he was appointed a Director of Convict Prisons and Inspector of Military Prisons in 1863. From 1878, Du Cane was also chairman of the newly appointed Commissioners for local prisons. The Directors of Convict Prisons were amalgamated with the Prison Commissioners under the 1898 Prison Act.[23]

Table 5.1 Convict Prisons 1838–1921

Name	*Type*	*Date opened*	*Date closed*	*Penal use on closure*
Aylesbury (part)	Women	1895	1918	Borstal institution
Borstal	Public-works prison	1874	1906	Borstal institution
Brixton	Women	1853	1870	
	Men	1870	1882	Military prison
Chatham	Public-works prison	1856	1893	Closed
Chattenden	Public-works prison	1877	1886–7	Closed
Dartmoor	Public-works prison and invalids	1850	After 1921	
Dover	Public-works prison	1885	1895	Closed
Fulham	Women	1856	1888	Closed
Liverpool (part)	Women	1918	After 1921	
Maidstone (part)	Men	1904	After 1921	
Millbank	Separate confinement	1843	1886	Local prison
Parkhurst	Juveniles	1838	1863	
	Women	1863	1869	
	Men	1869	After 1921	
Pentonville	Separate confinement	1842	1885	Local prison
Portland	Public-works prison	1848	1921	Borstal institution
Portsmouth	Public-works prison	1852	1894	Closed
Woking Invalid	Invalids	1860	1888	Closed
Woking Female	Women	1869	1895	Closed
Wormwood Scrubs	Separate confinement	1883	1890	Local prison

Separate confinement prisons

From 1842, with the opening of Pentonville and the introduction of the probation system, separate confinement became a stage in a progressive sentence of transportation. Five hundred and twenty adult male convicts deemed capable of reform underwent a preparatory period of eighteen months' imprisonment there.[24] Aged from 18 to 35, they were generally first offenders sentenced to less than fifteen years' transportation. The convicts were trained in a trade and their behaviour was assessed to determine their status on arrival in Van Diemen's Land. After 1843 Millbank served as a depot where convicts were held for assessment to determine where they would serve the first part of their sentence. Following the suspension of transportation in 1846 and the introduction of the public-works system in 1848, additional accommodation was required for the separate confinement of convicts. Several county and borough prisons that had been rebuilt or remodelled in Pentonville's image had spare capacity. The Government contracted with local prison authorities to rent cells at an annual cost of £6 per cell. By the early 1850s, 818 separate cells in 8 English local prisons accommodated government convicts and in the early 1860s, 736 cells were available in 6 prisons.[25] The introduction of penal servitude in 1853 and the eventual abolition of transportation in 1867 necessitated extra separate cells for convicts. Pentonville was enlarged between 1865 and 1872.[26] The cell blocks were extended in length and raised by one storey, providing accommodation for over 1,120 convicts. Parkhurst held adult male convicts after 1869 and was subsequently enlarged.

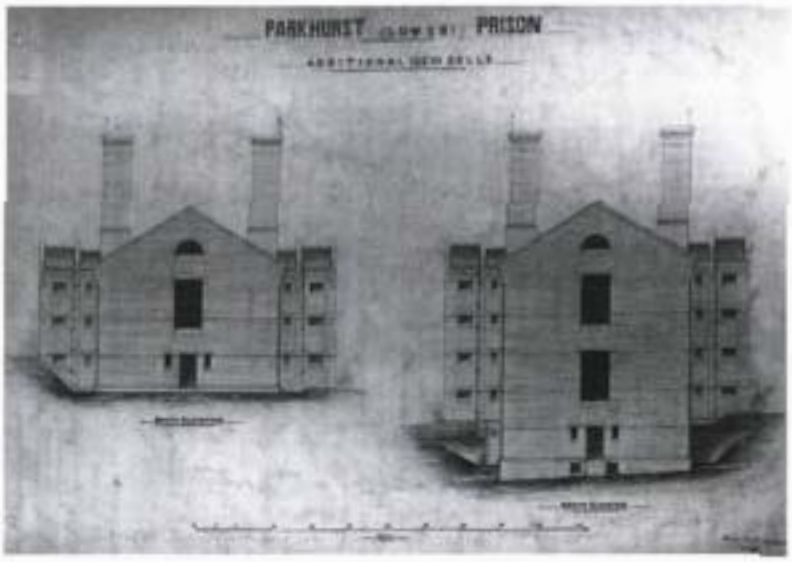


Figure 5.2
HMP Parkhurst, Isle of Wight. Elevations of A hall, (now A/D wing) dated 16 December 1879. [BB94/04578]

Figure 5.3
HMP Parkhurst, Isle of Wight. A/D wing, south (left) and north (right) elevations. Substantial additions were made to Parkhurst in the late 19th century to house convicts. This wing originally had projecting ablution towers, which were removed during the recent refurbishment. [AA98/08569]

Figure 5.4 Chatham Convict Prison, Kent. St Mary's Island: the convicts at labour. The prison was established to hold convicts while they worked at the nearby naval dockyard. [From The Illustrated London News, *9 March 1861, 219; BB013014]*

Figure 5.5 (opposite, above) Portland Convict Prison, Dorset. Block plan. Joshua Jebb. The prison opened in 1848 although building work continued until 1857. Inmates worked in quarries and on the naval dockyard. [From PP *1850 (1176), pl 1; BB013012]*

Figure 5.6 (opposite, below) Portland Convict Prison, Dorset. Photograph of cell c 1900. One occupant of a cell at Portland, Jabez Balfour, described it as 'nothing but a small corrugated-iron kennel, with a stone or slate floor. There was not so much as a bit of wooden grating on the floor, so that a prisoner, when his boots and stockings were off, had to tread the icy-cold flags. The only articles of furniture in it were a wooden stool, a very diminutive flap table, and a hammock and bedding rolled up on a shelf or ledge in one corner.' (Balfour 1907, 72–3.)

Between 1875 and 1886 C hall was extended by the addition of B hall (now B/G wing) and A hall (now A/D wing) was erected with 320 cells and projecting ablution towers (Figs 5.2 and 5.3).[27] A new convict prison was constructed at Wormwood Scrubs (London) between 1874 and 1891, with a telegraph-pole plan. The prison's four parallel cell blocks were completed in 1878, 1880, 1882 and 1890, providing 1,380 separate cells.[28] Millbank had continued to hold male convicts, with 1,300 cells being available for them in 1853.[29] From the mid-1850s, female convicts were increasingly held there and by 1860 the accommodation was divided equally between men and women. After 1869 a large part of the prison was given over to military prisoners.[30] From around 1886 to 1887, convicts were able to spend their nine months' separate confinement in a local prison, and Pentonville, Millbank and Wormwood Scrubs ceased to hold prisoners sentenced to penal servitude in 1885, 1886 and 1890 respectively, all becoming local prisons.[31]

Public-works prisons

The introduction of the public-works system in 1848 and the need to replace the hulks led to the construction of purpose-built establishments. After a period of solitary confinement, convicts were moved to a public-works prison, where they undertook hard labour in silent association. They progressed through a series of stages during which their conduct was assessed, before being transported. Three public-works prisons (Portland, Portsmouth and Chatham) were constructed by Jebb between 1848 and 1856 and, after the abolition of transportation, a further three (Borstal (Kent), Chattenden (Kent) and Dover) were built under Du Cane between 1877 and 1884. The men imprisoned in them erected and maintained the prison buildings, manufactured items for prison use, and undertook projects for the government (Fig 5.4). Public works for the Admiralty and the War Department included creating harbours at Portland and Dover; working in dockyards at Chatham and Portsmouth; and building fortifications at Portland and Borstal, arsenals at Chatham and magazines at Chattenden.

Joshua Jebb designed the first three public-works prisons at Portland, Portsmouth and Chatham. Despite variations in their constructional details, the three shared the same general design. Portland and Portsmouth in particular differed significantly in layout and internal planning from separate-system prisons such as Pentonville. Plans of the proposed prison at Portland were published by Jebb

in 1847 and further plans published in 1850 show the prison as built by that date (Fig 5.5).[31] The prison is situated on the east side of the Isle of Portland and was entered from the south. Houses for the governor and assistant chaplain originally flanked the gatehouse, while the deputy governor, chaplain and surgeon occupied detached houses near by. When completed, Portland was to have two detached, rectangular cell blocks lying parallel on a north–south orientation. Between the wings were a chapel and a building containing offices, baths, a kitchen, bakery, smithy, wash-house and laundry. Other buildings included a block of separate punishment cells, an infirmary and officers' housing. Only the west cell block had been built when the prison opened in 1848. It had a central stone-built warders' hall, flanked by two four-storeyed wings with timber side walls and stone gable ends. The wings were each divided into two open halls, which contained galleried rows of cells along their external and internal walls. Each hall was 23 cell spaces long and contained 175 cells, the total number of cells being 700. The cells measured 7ft by 4ft by 7ft high (2.1 × 1.2 × 2.1m) and were separated by corrugated-iron partitions (Fig 5.6). Those against the outside wall shared one window between two cells and the inside ones had no windows at all. The cells were intended only for sleeping in, unlike separate cells which inmates occupied day and night. Under the south wing there were two large dining rooms, in which fifty prisoners also slept. Water closets and stairs down to the basement were located in the end walls. This type of cell block was designed by Jebb to be temporary and removable: it could be erected cheaply and quickly, and could be moved elsewhere when the works were completed.

Portsmouth was built between 1850 and 1853 to accommodate 1,020 convicts (Fig 5.7).[32] The complement of buildings and their general layout was similar to Portland. The prison was entered near the north-east corner of the site and south of the gatehouse was Anchor Gate Terrace, a row of officers' houses. The east and west wings were separated by the chapel and by a central service building; the latter contained the kitchen, wash-house and bakery and was linked by a row of privies to a bath-house. The offices and infirmary were located in a building east of the east wing. The cell blocks differed in their

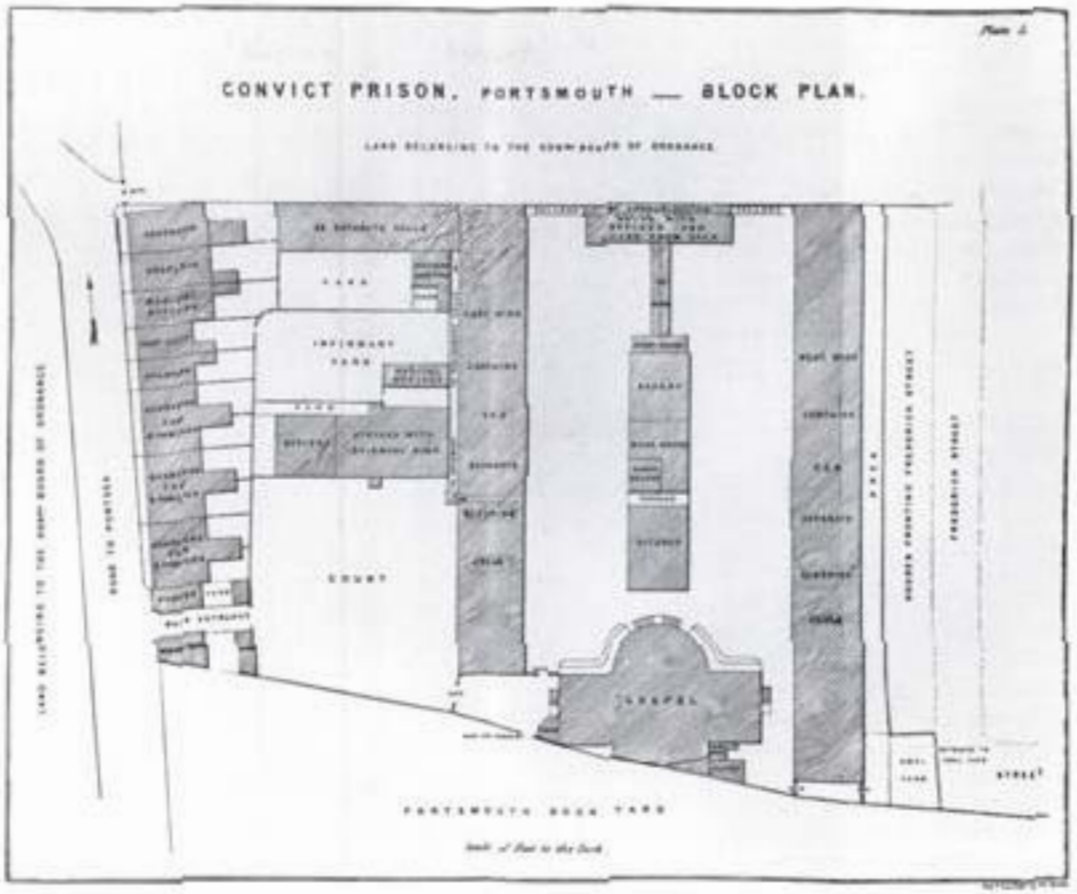


Figure 5.7
Portsmouth Convict Prison, Hampshire. Block plan. 1850–3. Joshua Jebb. [From RDMCP 1851, pl 1; BB013010]

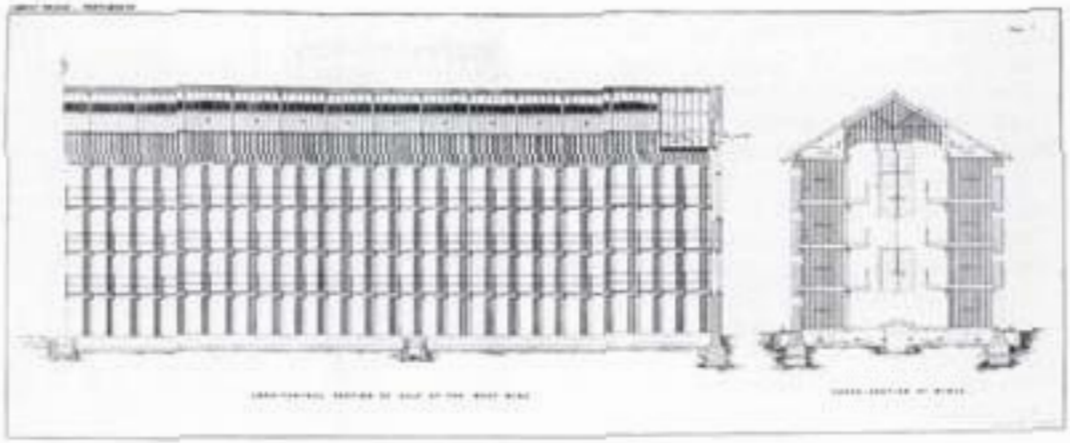


Figure 5.8
Portsmouth Convict Prison, Hampshire. Sections. [From RDMCP 1851, pl 3]

construction and internal arrangements from those at Portland. They were built of brick, not timber, and they contained three storeys of galleried sleeping cells along their external walls only (Fig 5.8). The west wing was 38 window bays long with 556 cells, and the east wing contained 442 cells. The cells had corrugated-iron walls, shared one window between two and were furnished with a desk, seat, shelves and hammock. The water closets were situated in the main body of the wing.

Simultaneously with the construction of Portsmouth, Portland was extended to increase its total capacity from 840 to 1,520 by 1853.[34] An additional hall for 230 convicts was built on the west side of the west cell block and the east wing was erected with 450 cells. Like the wings at Portsmouth, both these extensions contained only outside cells. Other buildings at Portland also had to be enlarged to accommodate the increased number of convicts.

During the next four years, the offices, kitchen, workshops, infirmary, bath-house and reception facilities were extended and new refractory cells and officers' accommodation were erected (Fig 5.9).[34]

In addition to the purpose-built public-works prisons, the former prisoner-of-war prison on Dartmoor was reopened in 1850. The Select Committee on Secondary Punishments had originally suggested the reuse of Dartmoor for 2,000 convicts in solitary cells in 1832, but nothing came of this proposal.[35] A small advance group of convicts arrived at Dartmoor in 1850 to convert four of the existing seven wings. The entrance gate faced west and the detached wings radiated in a semicircle to the east. Two wings were left as open dormitories for invalid convicts and two were gutted and filled with four storeys of galleried, corrugated-iron sleeping cells.[37] In 1895, No. II prison (on the site of A wing) contained 332 berths measuring 7ft by 4ft by 7ft 4in. (2.1 × 1.2 × 2.2m) and No. IV prison (on the site of C wing) contained 254 back-to-back berths with corridors along the outside walls. By 1851, there was accommodation available for 1,030 inmates, who undertook the rebuilding and heavy land-reclamation work on the moor. The prison was intended for use as a depot for invalid convicts and when the conversion work was completed in 1853, there was sufficient accommodation for 572 able-bodied convicts and 628 invalids. By 1857, Dartmoor held only invalid convicts.[38]

With the introduction of penal servitude and the discontinuance of the hulks, more accommodation was required for convicts undertaking associated hard labour. A third public-works prison opened on St Mary's Island at Chatham in 1856.[39] Prisoners held on the *Defence* and *Warrior* hulks, who were employed in the royal arsenal and dockyard

Figure 5.9 (above) Staff housing for Portland Convict Prison, Alma Terrace, Grove Road, Portland, Dorset. 1850s. Alma Terrace, a terrace of stone cottages on Grove Road near HMYOI Portland, was constructed as houses for warders working in the convict prison. The double-pile cottages are of two storeys with basements, and are entered through shared porches between each pair. Houses for the superior officers were situated near the gatehouse. [AA98/08756]

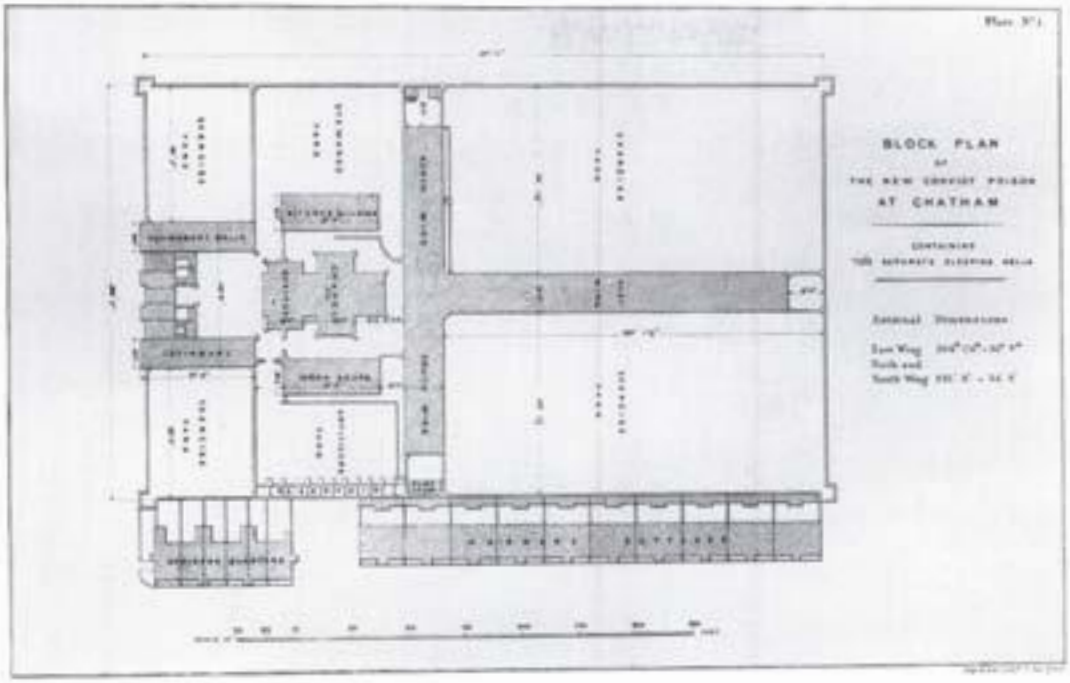


Figure 5.10 (left) Chatham Convict Prison, Kent. Block plan. Joshua Jebb. The convict prison was constructed in 1856. [From RDMCP 1854, pl 1; BB98/10043]

at Woolwich, were transferred to the new prison.[*] The main building at Chatham was T-shape in plan, with three wings radiating from a central hall (Figs 5.10, 5.11 and 5.12). Internally, it had four storeys of galleried, corrugated-iron cells, with a total capacity of 1,135. The front elevation of the north and south wings was thirty-six window bays long, each window being shared by two sleeping cells. The water closets were situated midway along each wing, on one side only. Around the centre were offices for the deputy governor and chief warder and an examination room. Offices for the governor and other members of staff and the chapel occupied a building between the cell blocks and the gatehouse. On either side of the chapel were detached structures housing the kitchen and workshops. The gatehouse complex, to the west, contained punishment cells and an infirmary. Six houses for officers and ten cottages, each accommodating four warders' families, were situated outside the prison wall. Chatham was extended in 1866 by the addition of a new cell block, which had brick instead of

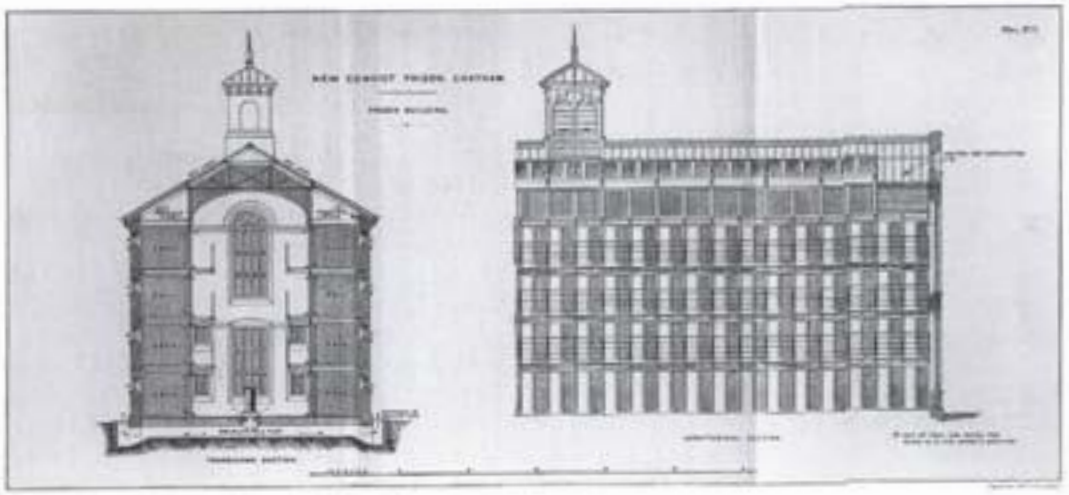


Figure 5.11
Chatham Convict Prison, Kent. Sections. The section through the wing shows the small, corrugated sleeping cells inside the wings. [From RDMCP 1854, pl 5; BB98/10041]

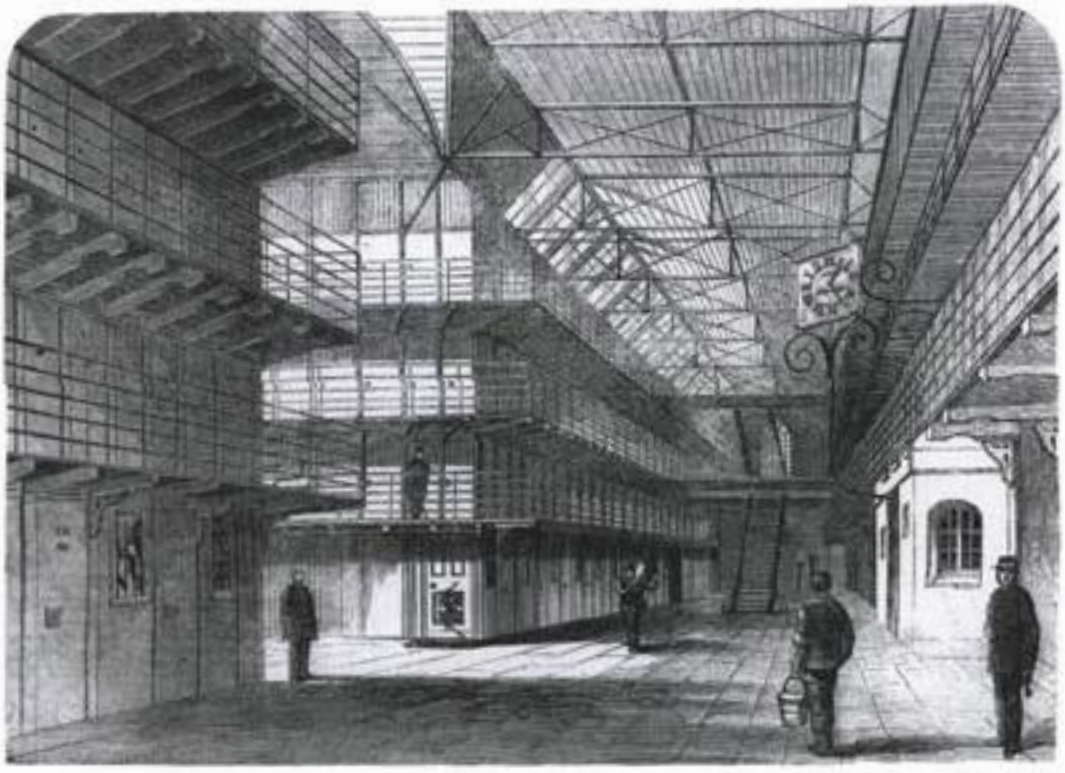


Figure 5.12
Chatham Convict Prison, Kent. Interior of St Mary's Prison. Although the buildings are constructed of corrugated iron, their internal volumes are similar to the large stone and brick local prisons built immediately after Pentonville. [From The Illustrated London News, *9 March 1861, 218]*

corrugated-iron partitions between the cells. A further wing for 250 inmates was erected in 1869–70.[41] Portsmouth was enlarged at the same date by the addition of a new wing.[42] It was built south of, and in line with, the existing west wing, and contained 197 cells with solid dividing walls. A new wash-house and an infirmary, containing sixty-five beds in thirty-six separate cells and two large wards, were also constructed.[43]

Three further public-works prisons were established after the abolition of transportation. Borstal (now HMP Rochester) opened *in August 1874 with the arrival of a contingent* of convicts from Chatham. Building work continued into the 1880s. The cell blocks were all occupied by 1877; the punishment cells were completed the following year; the kitchen, bakehouse and bath-house were finished in 1880; the infirmary was completed in 1883–4 and the chapel was first used in July 1884 (Figs 5.13 and 5.14). A temporary workshop for tailors and shoemakers was erected in 1880 and enlarged a year later. In layout and constructional details Borstal differed from Portland, Portsmouth and Chatham. The new prison had a radial plan, with four detached accommodation blocks radiating from a central area in which were located the kitchen and chapel. The wings were single-storeyed, with brick external walls, timber corridor walls and corrugated-iron cell partitions (Fig 5.15). Each wing *contained 126 sleeping cells, measuring* 9ft × 4ft 9in. × 7ft 6in. high (2.7 × 1.4 × 2.3m) making a total of 504 cells (Fig 5.16).[44] Chattenden, a satellite of Chatham, was established in February 1877 with accommodation for 100 prisoners in temporary buildings. A further, permanent convict prison was founded at Dover in 1884 and opened in August 1885. It had three wings of 204 cells, which were completed in 1887–8. Two wings, A and B halls, contained brick cells and the third wing, C hall, had corrugated-iron sleeping berths.[45]

Juveniles

Certain categories of convicts – juveniles, women and invalids – were accorded special treatment. A juvenile penitentiary was established at Parkhurst on the Isle of Wight *by an Act of Parliament in 1838.*[46] *Its* purpose was to deter juveniles from committing crime and to provide young offenders with moral and religious instruction, and training in an industrial trade or agriculture. Three hundred and twenty selected boys sentenced to either transportation or imprisonment could be held at Parkhurst, where they were subject to a strict discipline of silence and constant inspection. A plan by the SIPD's architect, George Thomas Bullar, for a detached radial prison on the site of the Royal Artillery's Albany Barracks, was rejected by the Home District Inspector, Whitworth Russell, in favour of an adjacent hospital for invalid children from the military school at Chelsea. Some of the hospital buildings, which extended around three sides of a court*yard, were reused and new ones were also* erected (Figs 5.17 and 5.18).[47] The prison enclosure was entered from the east. Directly opposite the gatehouse was the building in the centre of the U-plan (the White House), which became the governor's house. On either side of the governor's house were two-storey, nine-bay wings and similar blocks extended forward from them. All four blocks had back-to-back cells on both floors, measuring 10ft 6in. by 6ft (3.2 × 1.8m), entered by doors in their outside walls. Access to the cells on the upper floors was from external galleries, similar to those used by William Blackburn in the late 18th century. At the outer ends of the forward-projecting wings, and connected to them by the walkways, were two detached, three-storey cell blocks. These had six cells measuring 10ft by 6ft (3.1 × 1.8m) on either side of a central corridor on the ground and first floors, and infirmaries on *the upper floor. To the rear of the governor's* house was a single-storey building containing the kitchen, chapel and workshops and behind

Figure 5.13
HMP Rochester, Kent. Segregation unit, 1878. The punishment cells of Borstal Convict Prison are now the segregation unit at HMP Rochester. It is the earliest building surviving on the site. [AA96/04038]

this range was the junior ward for 120 boys aged under 12. This ward was two-storeyed and contained a central room for the schoolmaster, flanked by school, dining and sleeping rooms, above which were dormitories. A laundry and workshops stood on the north side of the enclosure and on the south side there was a large hall for indoor recreation.

Following the introduction of the probation system in 1842, the new model prison at Pentonville was to fulfil the same role for adult male convicts that Parkhurst already offered to young offenders, as 'a prison of instruction and probation, rather than a gaol of oppressive punishment'.[49] Conversely, Parkhurst was to become the juvenile equivalent of Pentonville in the new system.[49] Only boys sentenced to transportation were to be admitted, although they were not to be exposed to the full rigours of the separate system. The juveniles were trained in trades which would help them to earn a livelihood in the colonies. A young convict's behaviour during two to three years' imprisonment at Parkhurst determined his status when transported, whether he was sent out as a free emigrant or was imprisoned on arrival in the penal colony at Puer Point in Van Diemen's Land. The prison was enlarged in 1843 to the designs of Joshua Jebb at a cost of £30,000, and by 1847 the main prison could accommodate 501 boys. Provision was also made for girls.[50] A new chapel and probationary ward (the Cloverleaf and C/M hall) were erected against the west boundary wall. The Cloverleaf has a three-lobed plan and housed the chapel above a schoolroom (Fig 5.19). The probationary ward, for 137 new arrivals, demonstrated the architectural influence of Pentonville, having three tiers of galleried cells which measured 11ft by 7ft by 8ft 6in. high (3.3 × 2.1 × 2.6m). A long passage was built from the schoolroom to the recreation hall, which was used for dining. A new junior ward (the upper prison) and infirmary were also constructed to the north-east of the main enclosure. Further alterations included the conversion of the kitchen, chapel and workshop range into stores and the extension south of the former junior ward to contain the kitchen and C ward. This ward was originally entirely open internally, but was subsequently subdivided by deal partitions into 158 individual 'dormitories'. By 1850, the prison had sufficient accommodation for 720 juveniles, but during that year 158 cells were destroyed by fire. The total accommodation increased from 562 to 577 in 1851, and by the following year it had risen to 625.[51]

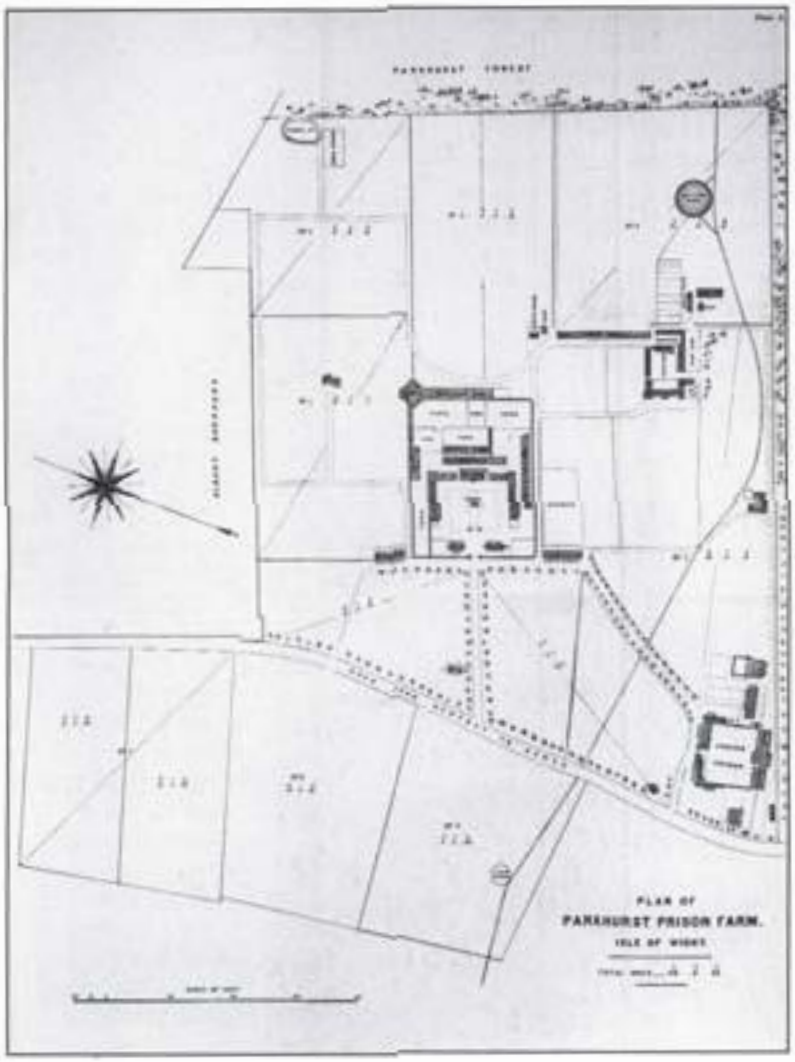
The 1853 Penal Servitude Act stopped virtually all transportation of juveniles. Thereafter Parkhurst held boys aged between 12 and 16, who were sentenced to at least one year's imprisonment. The older boys were housed in the general wards of the main prison, while those aged under 14 occupied the junior prison, where two wings with

Figure 5.14 (opposite) HMP Rochester, Kent. Chapel. 1880s. The chapel at HMP Rochester survives from Borstal Convict Prison. It was built at the same time as the kitchen. These two buildings were at the centre of a radial arrangement of detached cell blocks. [AA96/04077]

Figure 5.15 (far left) Borstal Convict Prison, Kent. Cell block c 1910. The wings were of a single storey with brick external walls. A central corridor inside was flanked by corrugated-iron sleeping cells. [Uncatalogued former Central Office of Information negative]

Figure 5.16 (near left) Borstal Convict Prison, Kent. Cell interior c 1910. [Uncatalogued former Central Office of Information negative]

Figure 5.17 (right) Parkhurst Juvenile Reformatory, Isle of Wight. Interior of the court. This view shows the governor's house at the centre of the prison and the flanking early cell blocks which opened as a juvenile penitentiary in 1838. Some of the wings were converted from hospital buildings on the site and others were purpose-built for the prison. The upper storey of cells was reached from external galleries. [From The Illustrated London News, *13 March 1847, 164; BB013016]*



corrugated-iron sleeping cells were erected in 1854 and 1855 to replace the dormitories. However, with the establishment of a network of certified reformatory schools after 1854, fewer boys were serving long sentences in prison and Parkhurst was rendered redundant as a juvenile establishment. The upper prison containing the junior ward was closed in 1861 and in 1863 the remaining boys occupying the main prison were transferred to Dartmoor.[32]

Women

Until transportation to Van Diemen's Land ended, all female convicts were incarcerated in Millbank before embarking for Australia. However, after 1853 they had to be imprisoned and released in Britain since Western Australia did not accept female transportees. In that year, the former county house of correction for Surrey at Brixton was purchased by the Government for use as a female convict prison. The existing prison buildings contained 175 separate cells, which were used for the reception of prisoners and for their probationary confinement. Two new wings were erected containing sleeping cells for prisoners who were allowed to work in association during the later stages of their sentence. The new wings lay to the east and west of the former governor's house (which was converted to offices and stores) and were linked by passages to the main prison buildings (Figs 5.20 and 5.21). They were 4 storeys high,

Figure 5.18 (opposite, below) Parkhurst Juvenile Reformatory, Isle of Wight. Block plan. This block plan shows the prison after the new chapel/schoolrooms (the Cloverleaf), probationary ward (part of C/M hall) and junior ward (the 'upper prison') were built in the 1840s. [From RDMCP 1851, pl 8; BB98/10046]

Figure 5.19 (left, above) HMP Parkhurst, Isle of Wight. The Cloverleaf. 1843–4. Joshua Jebb. The Cloverleaf contained a schoolroom on the ground floor and the chapel on the first floor. Cast-iron cruciform columns on the lower storey support the cased beams of the upper floor structure. The original roof structure survives. [AA98/08568]

Figure 5.20 (left) HMP Brixton, Greater London. HMP Brixton, the former Surrey House of Correction, reopened as a female convict prison in 1853. Only the chapel range and E wing/reception (right of the gatehouse) survive from the 1850s building campaign. The octagonal administration block was the governor's house of the 1820s prison and the cell blocks date from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. [18313/4]

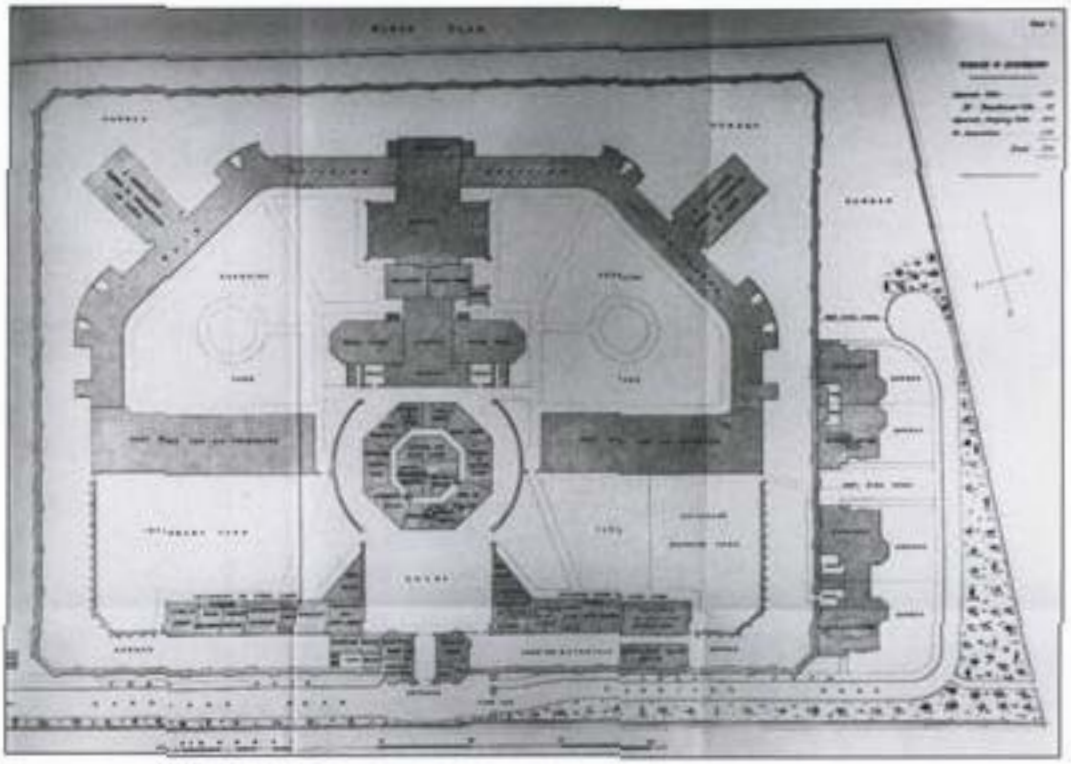


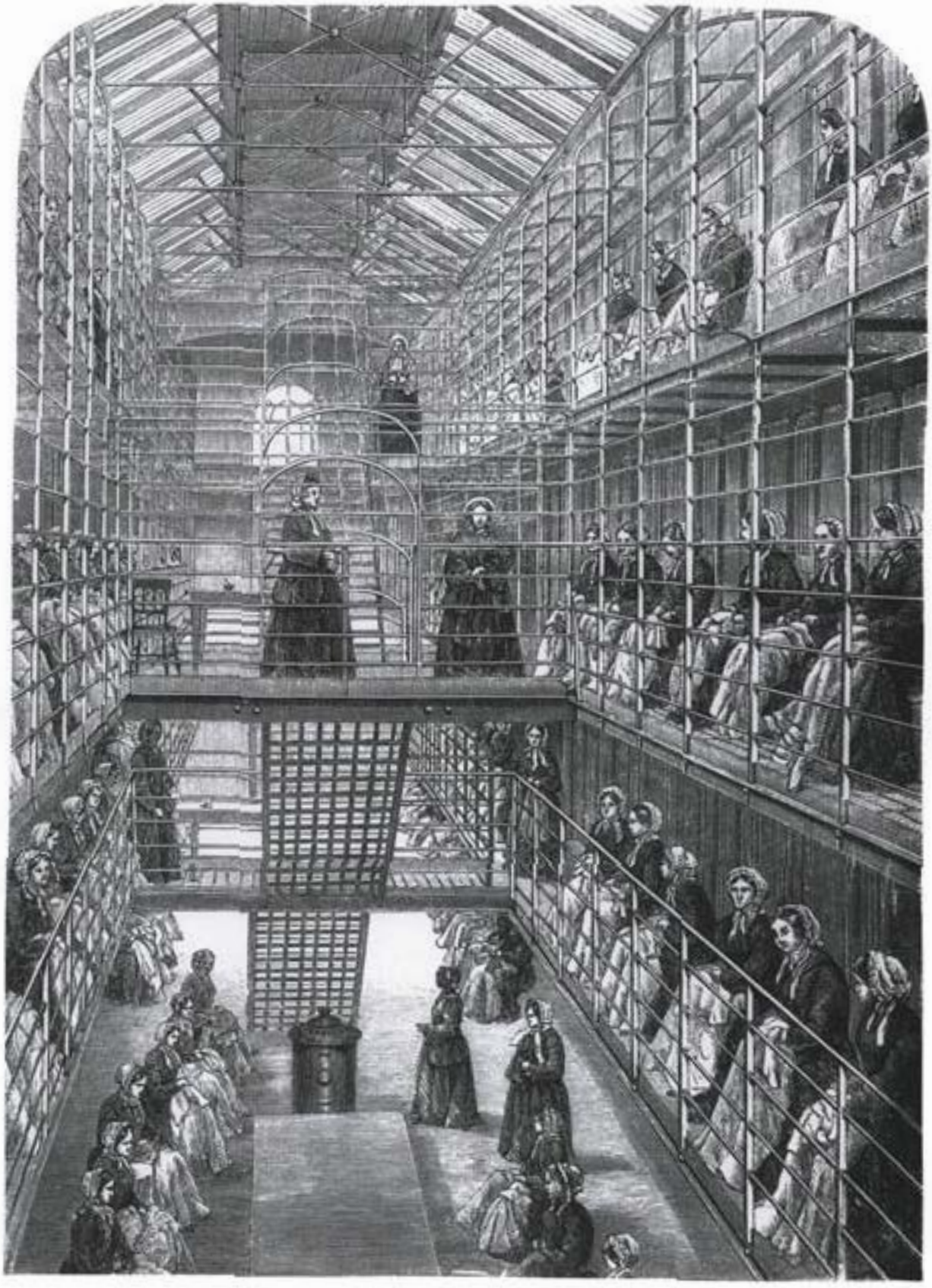
Figure 5.21
Brixton Convict Prison, Greater London. Block plan. [From RDMCP 1853, pl 1; BB013013]

15 window bays long and each wing contained 212 corrugated-iron sleeping cells. The cells, which shared one window between two, opened on to a central corridor and those on the upper floors were reached from galleries (Fig 5.22). Water closets and slops basins were located in the main body of the wing, half way along each side. The prison also had 12 punishment cells and 8 large rooms each capable of holding 15 women, giving a total capacity of 714 inmates, and there was a nursery for the prisoners' children. Other new buildings dating from 1853 included, south of the governor's house, a kitchen and laundry, and a building containing a chapel above rooms for work, stores, baths and offices.[53]

A further establishment for women convicts, the Refuge, opened at Burlington House, Fulham, London, in May 1856. Fulham Refuge was the female equivalent of a public-works prison but it also bore a resemblance to Irish intermediate prisons. The discipline was less penal than in an ordinary prison and the women were *trained in domestic skills* to help them obtain employment on release. The buildings extended around three sides of a central courtyard and were linked by covered ways (Fig 5.23).[54] The house was used as offices, officers' quarters, an infirmary and dormitories, and a new chapel was erected adjacent to it. Two new wings were also constructed. One was a three-storey block with school-, work- and dining rooms on the ground floor and sixty-eight sleeping berths on the upper floors. Protruding towers to the rear housed the sanitation. The other wing, containing a wash-house and laundry, was attached to an existing service range.

Until 1870, a sentence of penal servitude for women was divided into three successive stages.[55] They commenced their term of imprisonment with a probationary period of separate confinement at Millbank, before being promoted to the third class. They were then moved to Brixton, where they progressed up to the first class. Selected women, who were likely to benefit from the relaxed discipline and training offered at Fulham, completed their sentences there. Between 1869 and 1870 a new wing was constructed at Fulham, which thereafter became an ordinary convict prison.[56] Furthermore, a purpose-built convict prison for women opened at Woking (Surrey) in 1869.[57] In the same year, Parkhurst, which had held women since 1863, became a male prison again and in 1870 Brixton too was closed to females.[58] When Fulham closed in 1888, the convicts

Figure 5.22 (opposite)
Brixton Convict Prison, Greater London. Female convicts at work. Female convicts worked together in silence in one of the new wings erected in 1853. [From Mayhew and Binny 1862; BB97/09680]



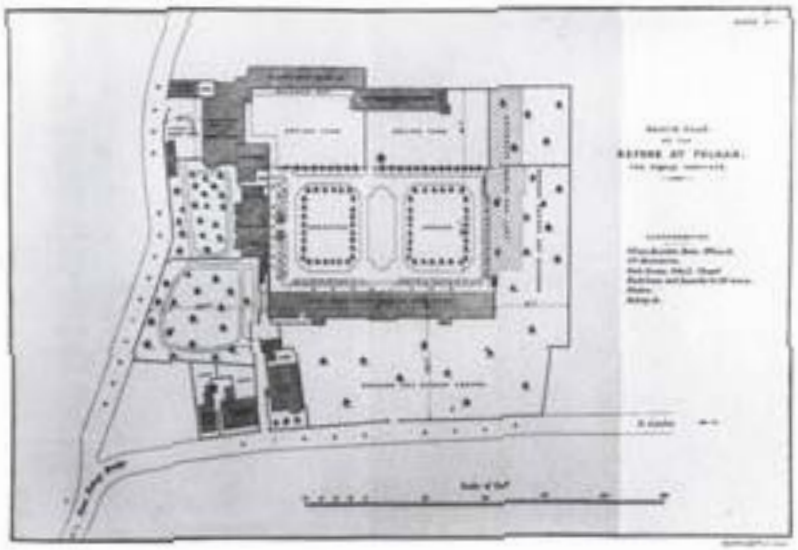


Figure 5.23
Fulham Refuge, Greater London. Block plan. [From RDMCP 1856 and 1857, pl 1]

were sent to Woking.[59] Woking was discontinued in 1895, its inmates being transferred to the former local prison at Aylesbury, which was converted to house convicts between 1890 and 1895.[60]

Invalids

Invalid male convicts, who were unable to endure the rigours of transportation or of labour on public works, were accommodated separately from able-bodied prisoners. Provision was made for the physically and mentally sick in hulks, at Millbank and in a former ordnance barracks at Shorncliffe (Kent).[61] After 1852, however, nearly 630 invalids could be accommodated at Dartmoor in two wings which had been left as open dormitories. Two other wings were occupied initially by able-bodied convicts but by the mid-1850s the prison was solely an invalid depot and in 1858 it held 1,200 convicts capable of undertaking light labour.[62] Several additions and alterations were made to the prison during the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s. New penal cells were constructed in 1864–5 and a new wing was erected between 1871 and 1873. This was probably No. V prison, which in the early 20th century was described as having 4 storeys, 35 bays and 268 stone-built cells. Nos IV and II prisons, which contained sleeping berths, were enlarged by the addition of stone cells. A 4-storey, 18-bay block containing 161 cells (D wing) was added to No. IV prison between 1879 and 1883, and a similar extension containing 157 cells (B wing) was made to No. II prison between 1880 and 1885 (Fig 5.24). The associated wards of No. III prison were replaced by 136 cells in 1880–1. No. VI prison (F wing), a two-storey wing, was remodelled internally before 1885 into two 32-bay sections by A B McHardy, the Surveyor of Prisons (Fig 5.25). By 1895 Dartmoor could accommodate 1,303 convicts.[63]

Until 1857 between 350 and 420 invalid convicts continued to be held in prison hulks, the *Stirling Castle* at Portsmouth and subsequently the *Defence* at Woolwich, until the latter was destroyed by fire in July 1857.[64] A new convict prison for invalids was under construction at Woking, but until it was ready to accept inmates, they were housed temporarily in the naval prison at Lewes (the former Sussex County House of Correction).[65] The invalid convict establishment at Woking opened in 1860 for prisoners who were incapable of working at Dartmoor and who were in need of constant medical care. Its plan reflected its intended function as a hospital rather than a prison (Figs 5.26 and 5.27).[66] The entrance was to the north. Immediately inside the gatehouse were a workshop and a store, and opposite it was a cruciform building containing offices and the kitchen. South of this was the principal block, which was of three-storeys and had an H-shaped plan comprising the 'main building' and two wings. The 'main building' was a long range, lying east–west, with a corridor running the length of its north wall on the ground and first floors. In the centre were offices and the chapel and to either side wards opened off the corridor. On the ground floor there were small wards containing between three and fourteen beds and on the first floor large wards held thirty-five beds each. On the second floor individual sleeping berths lay on either side of a central corridor. The east and west wings had central corridors flanked by separate wards on the lower and middle storeys and by sleeping berths on the upper storey. Sculleries containing baths and sinks were located in the main body of the principal range and wings. Water closets and slops basins were situated adjacent to the sculleries in the wings. In the main building they occupied towers, which projected from the front and rear elevations. In 1869 cells that were being used as stores were brought into use for inmates and the total accommodation was raised thereby from 708 to 736.[67] At this time the prison held a number of able-bodied convicts who, together with any invalids who were

Figure 5.24
HMP Dartmoor, Devon. A/B wing exterior. B wing was added in 1880–5 beside an old smaller wing which was subsequently rebuilt as A wing in 1905–8. [AA96/06253]

physically fit for building work, were constructing the adjacent female prison. Following a decline in the number of convicts by the late 1880s, it was no longer necessary to maintain a separate prison for invalids.[68] The physically infirm were sent to ordinary convict prisons and the insane were transferred to Broadmoor (Berkshire), which had opened as an asylum for criminal lunatics in 1862.[69]

Closures and rebuildings

By the 1890s there had been a substantial decrease in the convict prison population.[70] This was a consequence of fewer wrongdoers being sentenced to penal servitude and those who were being given shorter prison terms. Furthermore, from 1887 convicts were able to serve their separate confinement in a local prison.[71] Between 1878 and 1888, the daily average total of convicts fell from 11,357 to 6,680, and by 1898 it stood at 2,826. Between 1882 and 1906, twelve convict prisons closed (*see* Table 5.1). Brixton became a military prison in 1882 and Pentonville, Millbank and Wormwood Scrubs were converted into local prisons between 1885 and 1890.[72] There were insufficient invalid and female convicts to justify large establishments for them. Woking invalid prison and Fulham prison closed in 1888 and Woking female prison closed in 1895.[73] Invalids were sent to other convict prisons, and the women were accommodated in the former local prison at Aylesbury.[74]

As the works of national importance undertaken from public-works prisons were completed, the prisons were closed. Chattenden closed in 1886–7 after five magazines had been completed for the War Department.[75] At Chatham, with the dockyards nearing completion, two accommodation halls were converted between 1886 and 1890 into workshops, one for tailors and

Figure 5.25
HMP Dartmoor, Devon. F/G wing. F wing is a surviving block from the prisoner-of-war prison of 1806–9, which was converted into a conventional wing of sixty-four cells in the late nineteenth century. G wing was added in 1901–5. [BB97/00142]

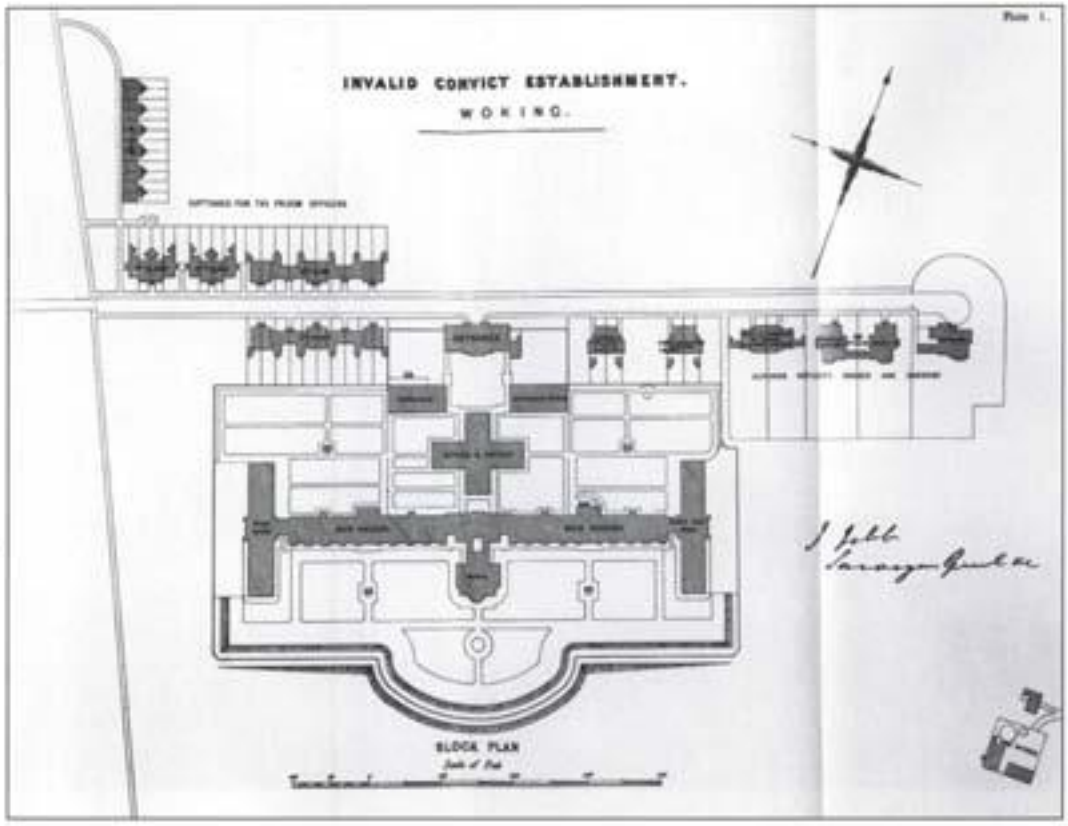


Figure 5.26 (right) Invalid Convict Establishment, Woking, Surrey. Block plan. This prison remained open from 1860 until 1888. An adjacent prison held female convicts from 1869 to 1895. The prison became the Inkerman Barracks in 1895, and the site was used as a military prison after the Boer War (1899–1902). The site of the prison buildings is now covered with modern housing. [From PP 1862 (3055), XXV, pl 1]

Figure 5.27 (below) Invalid Convict Establishment, Woking, Surrey. Staff housing. 1860s. Staff houses are all that remain of the former prisons for invalid male convicts and female convicts. These housed the ordinary officers while larger houses nearer the gate housed more senior staff. [AA98/08751]

shoemakers, the other for basketmakers, painters and bookbinders.[76] A similar diversification of industries was undertaken at Portsmouth, where a new shoemakers' shop was built in 1881 and a new workshop for tailors and shoemakers was erected between 1886 and 1887.[77] However, as their respective dockyards were finished, both prisons were closed, dismantled and handed to the Admiralty as naval barracks, Chatham in 1893 and Portsmouth in 1894.[78] Dover was left in the hands of a caretaker in January 1895.[79] In 1895–6, the five remaining convict prisons of Aylesbury, Borstal, Dartmoor, Parkhurst and Portland had accommodation for 3,954 men and 258 women, a total of 4,212 cells or 16 per cent of all prison accommodation in England and Wales.[80]

In 1894, Alten Beamish, the Surveyor of Prisons, considered the cost of amalgamating two or three corrugated-iron sleeping berths into one cell at Borstal, Dartmoor, Dover and Portland.[81] He concluded that if two berths were amalgamated into one cell at these four prisons, the total number of cells available would be 2,832, including 696 cells at Parkhurst; if three berths were amalgamated at Dartmoor and Portland,

the total accommodation would be 2,478. The estimated cost of converting Dover into a 294-cell prison by amalgamating its 611 berths and constructing new buildings was £8,855. However, Dover was closed following the decision not to construct a harbour of refuge using convict labour.[82] Pairs of berths were amalgamated at Borstal in 1902, to create 100 cells in A and B halls for the reception of juvenile-adult prisoners, prior to the closure of the convict prison in 1905.[83] The report of the Departmental Committee on Prisons chaired by Herbert Gladstone, published in 1895, recommended replacing the sleeping cells at Dartmoor and Portland by larger, more solidly constructed cells.[84] Work on rebuilding both prisons commenced in 1895. At Dartmoor, a 2-storey block of 61 separate cells (E wing) was completed in 1901, and a 5-storey, 18-bay, 180-cell extension (G wing) to old No. VI prison was erected between 1901 and 1905. Old No. II prison was replaced by a 20-bay block containing 160 cells (A wing) between 1905 and 1908, and old No. IV prison was rebuilt as C wing after 1913 (Fig 5.28).[85] At Portland, the rebuilt prison retained its layout of three parallel ranges of buildings, with a central block of service buildings (including the offices, kitchen, laundry and baths) flanked by two five-storey accommodation blocks. The western block (formerly A, B and C wings), which was replaced in stages between 1896 and 1906, remained T-shape in plan with a 31-bay north–south range and a 15-bay west wing and contained a total of 399 cells. The west wing (Drake) was rebuilt first, opening in 1901–2; Raleigh was completed in 1904–5 and Benbow was occupied in 1906. The eastern accommodation block (formerly D wing), which had 29 bays and 275 cells, was reconstructed in two phases; the southern half (Nelson) was built between 1906 and 1908 and the northern half (Grenville) between 1908 and 1910–11. Portland closed as a convict prison in 1921 and was converted into a borstal institution.[86]

With the closure of so many convict prisons, provision was made for inmates sentenced to penal servitude to be held in local prisons, although they were kept separate from those sentenced to imprisonment. In 1904, Maidstone was divided from west to east into two establishments, a local prison to the south and a convict prison to the north. The original entrance in the west wall, which had been replaced by a south gate in about 1891, was reopened to provide access to the convict prison and a new gatehouse was erected. A new 2-storey, 33-bay wing was constructed, containing 128 corrugated-iron sleeping cells measuring 9ft 6in. by 7ft by 8ft high (2.9 × 2.1 × 2.4m). The cells were larger but of a similar construction to those being removed contemporaneously from Dartmoor and Portland. A second block of 128 sleeping cells was built between 1907 and 1909. Other new structures included penal cells, workshops, baths, a laundry and a kitchen. In 1905 male convicts were also moved into H and K wings at Wakefield, following the closure of the female prison there.[87] Female convicts remained at Aylesbury until 1918 when they were transferred to Liverpool, proposals for a new convict prison at St Albans having come to nothing.[88] In 1922 the four convict prisons of Dartmoor, Liverpool, Maidstone and Parkhurst had 2,392 cells or 11 per cent of a total prison accommodation of 21,201 cells.[89]

Military and naval prisoners

During the late 1830s, the Inspectors of Prisons for the Home District, William Crawford and Whitworth Russell, were concerned not just with civil prisoners but also with military and naval offenders. Corporal punishment and imprisonment in local prisons were the available forms of punishment for soldiers and sailors found guilty by courts martial of mutiny, desertion and other crimes against military discipline. The number of military prisoners held in about 40 local gaols in England had risen from 920 in 1833 to 1,329 in 1835.[90] Crawford and Russell rejected proposals for the complete physical segregation of civil and military prisoners in existing local prisons and for the establishment of eleven new military prisons in the United Kingdom.[91] Instead they erected blocks of separate cells in garrisons and barracks stations. One pentagon in the government prison at Millbank was also set aside for soldiers and marines stationed in the vicinity of London.[92] However, the garrison cells were not widely used and in 1844 a committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Earl Cathcart to examine the issue of military imprisonment.[93] It recommended the establishment of exclusively military prisons, in which offenders would

be classified according to their character not their crime. Prisoners should undertake associated hard labour, such as shot and knapsack drill and working heavy guns, during sentences lasting less than six months. The committee was opposed both to the separate system, which was being imposed in local prisons, and also to the use of the treadwheel. Following Cathcart's recommendations, nine British military prisons were established, four of them in England. These were Fort Clarence at Chatham, Southsea Castle at Portsmouth, part of the ordnance stores at Weedon (Northamptonshire), which were converted for penal use, and a block of garrison cells at Devonport, Plymouth. They were the responsibility of a new post, the Inspector-General of Military Prisons, whose first incumbent was Joshua Jebb. The first purpose-built military prison was erected at Gosport in 1849 to replace Southsea Castle.[94] Despite Cathcart's recommendations, this new prison designed by Jebb contained 158 separate cells. By the 1860s there were seven English military prisons, the other three being located at Aldershot (Hampshire), Shorncliffe and Southwark, in the former Queen's Bench prison which closed to debtors in 1862. A naval prison opened in 1862 in the former county house of correction at Lewes, which had been purchased by the Government in 1854 to hold prisoners of war during the Crimean War. It closed in 1910.[95]

The 1865 Prison Act made the separate system compulsory in all local prisons and, in the light of this, a commission of inquiry examined the system of military imprisonment in 1868. The Commissioners found that associated imprisonment in military prisons was less severe than separate confinement in local prisons. They recommended that a new central military prison should be placed under the Board of Directors of Convict Prisons and that its regime should conform to the standards of separation and hard labour laid down by the 1865 Act.[96] All of the English military prisons were closed in March 1870, except Gosport.[97] Rather than construct a new central prison, most military prisoners were sent to Millbank. In 1870 three pentagons, containing 540 cells, were set aside for military prisoners and by 1878 Millbank held 764 such offenders.[98]

Military and naval prisoners continued to be held in local prisons. In September 1876, 1,144 soldiers and sailors under sentence of courts martial were being held in 31 English and Welsh local prisons and by July 1878, 1,443 military and naval offenders were incarcerated in 48 county and borough prisons.[99] As a part of the process of reorganisation of local prisons following their nationalisation in 1878, fourteen prisons with spare accommodation were designated to hold military offenders.[100] However, the Army Discipline and Regulation Act of 1879 required that military offenders should be completely separated from criminals.[101] The necessary classification could not be carried out for small numbers of soldiers distributed between a relatively large number of local prisons. A committee set up to examine the issue recommended the use of solely military establishments, with barracks cells and garrison provosts for short sentences and military prisons for long sentences.

Figure 5.28 (opposite) HMP Dartmoor, Devon. Interior of A wing. 1905–8, refurbished in 1990s. A wing was one of the last wings built on the site. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries the wings had gradually become larger. [AA96/06282]

Figure 5.29 (below) HMP Brixton, Greater London. Exterior of A wing. A wing was built by convicts before the prison became a military establishment in 1882. [BB97/12048]

As a temporary measure sections of Taunton, Chester and Lancaster prisons were set apart for military prisoners in 1880–1.[102] Taunton closed in 1884, Lancaster reverted to a civilian prison in 1887–8 and Chester was discontinued in the mid-1890s to be replaced by the disused county prison at Kendal (Cumbria).[103] Part of Bodmin served as a naval prison for the Admiralty between 1887 and 1922.[104] Conversion work was undertaken to divide the south wing from the rest of the prison and the wing was subsequently lengthened and heightened to contain 100 cells. Millbank ceased to hold military prisoners in 1882 and was superseded by the former convict prison at Brixton.[105] Two new wings had been erected at Brixton by convict labour between 1878 and 1882, prior to it being handed to the War Office.[106] A and B wings (formerly B and C halls) lie south of the chapel; A wing, to the east, has 4 storeys and 173 cells and B wing, to the west, has 3 storeys and 131 cells (Fig 5.29). The cells measure only 10ft 6in. by 7ft (3.2 × 2.1m) and were heated by hot-water pipes. The former county prison at York also served as a military prison between 1900 and 1929.[107]

Further military use of civilian prisons was occasioned by the outbreak of World War I in 1914. By 1918 nineteen English and Welsh prisons had been closed for civil commitments, together with wings at other prisons, representing 25 per cent of all available cells.[108] Chelmsford served as a military prison from 1915 to 1919 and Reading housed internees between 1915 and 1920.[109] Conscientious objectors were incarcerated in Dartmoor and Wakefield and the latter also held Irish political prisoners until 1923.[110] Knutsford was used successively as a detention barracks, as housing for munitions workers and as a work centre for conscientious objectors until 1918.[111] It was subsequently given temporarily to the Archbishop of Canterbury as a hostel in which demobilised soldiers could study for ordination.[112] Ten of these prisons (Bodmin, Brecon, Cambridge, Derby, Devizes, Hereford, Knutsford, Ruthin, St Alban's and Warwick) did not reopen as civil prisons but were discontinued between 1921 and 1929.[113]

6
English Prisons 1878–1921: The Early Years of the Prison Commission

The Prison Act, 1877, and prison closures

Richard Cross, appointed Home Secretary by Benjamin Disraeli in February 1874, sought to achieve economy and uniformity in penal matters.[1] It fell to Edmund Du Cane, Surveyor-General of Prisons, Chairman of the Board of Convict Prisons and Inspector-General of Military Prisons since 1869, to devise the means by which these aims could be realised. His scheme involved the Government taking responsibility for all local prisons, which would be maintained from national taxes and not local rates. Further reductions in cost would be achieved by closing a number of uneconomic prisons. The necessary legislation was presented to Parliament as the prisons bill in June 1876. It failed to become law that year and was reintroduced the following February, receiving royal assent in July 1877. Under the Prison Act, which came into force on 1 April 1878, the local authorities' obligations with respect to prisons ceased. Local prisons became the responsibility of the Home Secretary, who was to appoint up to five Prison Commissioners to superintend them. The Secretary of State was also given the power to discontinue prisons.[2]

In order to determine which prisons should be closed and which retained, Du Cane needed to obtain information about the quantity and quality of the existing accommodation and to make an accurate assessment of future requirements. The process of calculating the final figures involved several stages of inquiry. They can be followed, for example, in Lancashire where there were six county and borough prisons (*see* Appendix 1). Returns were obtained from all prisons giving the number of cells and the numbers of prisoners held on each quarter day over a five-year period from January 1872 to December 1876.[3] The highest number of prisoners was taken as the measure of the accommodation needed. There were 4,010 certified and 168 uncertified cells available in the Lancashire prisons, a total of 4,178. Accommodation was required for 4,179 prisoners, 2,764 male and 1,415 female. Alexander Burness McHardy also summarised the accommodation of the prisons he visited in 1877.[4] His record of prisons in the north and east of the country, compiled between September and November of that year, provides a snapshot of fifty-one county and borough prisons on the eve of nationalisation (*see also* Chapter 4). In Lancashire he found 4,365 available cell spaces, both good and bad, including reception, infirmary and punishment cells. Later annotations to McHardy's manuscript, dated January and February 1878, list the numbers of cells to be received by the Prison Commissioners. Surviving records of the settlements made between the county and borough authorities and the Prison Commissioners provide numbers of existing, required and surplus cells for seventy-four English and Welsh prisons.[5] The Prison Commissioners accepted 3,800 cells for the 6 Lancashire prisons and 117 extra cells were allowed by the Secretary of State. Excluding Manchester City Prison, for which incomplete figures were given, 2,780 cells were required to meet the average maximum number of prisoners for the period 1872 to 1876, leaving a surplus of only 333 cells. Consequently, none of these prisons was closed in 1878.

Du Cane sought a better distribution of prisons in England and Wales, with fewer, larger establishments. As early as October 1875, he produced a preliminary list of closures, with fifty-four prisons to be closed and sixty-two retained.[6] By November 1877, he was proposing that thirty-five prisons

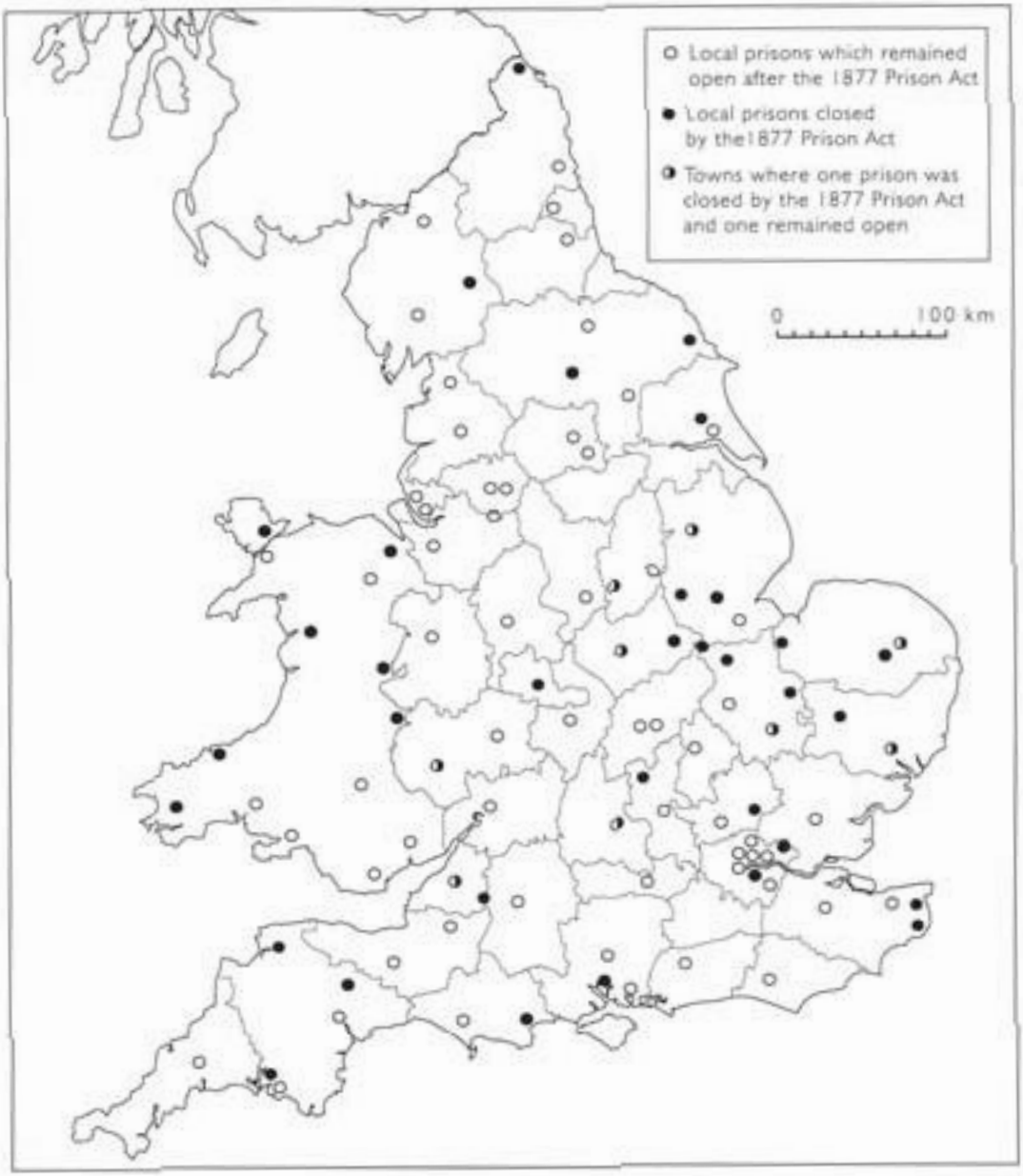

Local prisons which remained open after the 1877 Prison Act
Local prisons closed by the 1877 Prison Act
Towns where one prison was closed by the 1877 Prison Act and one remained open
0
100 km

Figure 6.1
Local prisons in England and Wales 1877–8. The map shows which prisons were closed and which remained open under the 1877 Prison Act.

should shut, sixty-three should be retained for convicted prisoners, seven should be used as houses of detention for prisoners awaiting trial and fourteen should be used for naval and military prisoners.[7] In the event, however, of the 113 English and Welsh prisons in existence on 1 April 1878, 45 had closed by the end of August, including the old borough prison at Portsmouth.[8] A new prison opened at Kingston, Portsmouth on 22 August, giving a total of sixty-nine prisons (Fig 6.1; *see* Appendix 2). These had accommodation for 24,812 prisoners, about 4,000 cells in excess of likely requirements, and those which were discontinued accounted for just 2,580 cells. The gaols and houses of correction that shut were predominantly small borough and town prisons, although eleven county prisons also closed. At Ipswich and Leicester the county and borough gaols were amalgamated.

Although there was very little opposition by the county and borough prison authorities to the 1877 Act, the handover of prisons did not always go smoothly.[9] At Brecon, local feeling against the closure of the county gaol resulted in it reopening in February 1880, while in Derbyshire and Shropshire arguments erupted over compensation payments for surplus cells.[10]

Under the 1877 Act, a local authority that had no adequate prison had to pay £120 for each cell it lacked, while an authority that had provided accommodation additional to its requirements was to be compensated by the same sum for each excess cell.[11] At Derby, the county wanted between £12,000 and £13,000 in compensation, whereas the Government was willing to pay only £4,200.[12] In Shropshire, the county claimed that Shrewsbury County Gaol had 195 cells, that the average maximum number of prisoners between 1872 and 1876 was 146 and that there were 50 excess cells.[13] The Prison Commissioners, however, felt that the buildings were dilapidated and unsuitable for modern occupation, and they therefore recommended that no compensation payment should be made. The county denied that the prison was in such a state, demanded £6,720, implying fifty-six cells, and rejected an offer of £1,500. The prison was eventually handed over to the Commissioners in 1880 in return for £4,000 compensation and it was immediately rebuilt.

The programme of prison closures continued after 1878, a consequence, in part, of declining prisoner numbers (*see* Appendix 3). Outside London, eleven prisons closed between 1879 and 1894.[14] Within London, the three former convict prisons of Pentonville, Millbank and Wormwood Scrubs, which joined the complement of local prisons in 1885, 1886 and 1890 respectively, replaced Westminster, Clerkenwell and Coldbath Fields. Millbank, however, was discontinued in 1890. Newgate was effectively closed in 1882, after which date it was restricted to holding prisoners being tried at the Central Criminal Court. By 1895, there were fifty local prisons in England, including Newgate, and a further seven in Wales.[15] The daily average population of local prisons fell from 20,833 in 1878 to 13,604 in 1895.

The separate system of discipline had been made compulsory in local prisons by the 1865 Prison Act. However, the multiplicity of jurisdictions before 1877 had ensured that there was great variation in the severity of the punishment actually administered. With all prisons under a single authority, a new body of rules was implemented on 1 April 1878 to impose the same treatment on all prisoners. Uniformity was sought with respect to all aspects of prison life, including diet, education, clothing and labour. Good conduct and industry were to be enforced by a system of progressive stages, similar to that in operation in convict prisons.[16] All prisoners started in the first stage, undertaking hard labour on the treadwheel or crank for a month, reduced from three months by the 1877 Act (*see* Fig 3.35). Work was measured in marks, with a prisoner able to earn six to eight marks a day. By earning 224 marks, promotion was secured to the next of four stages, in each of which conditions were ameliorated. Poor work or bad behaviour was punished by the loss of points or demotion. After the first month, prisoners were employed on useful, industrial work, learning trades by which they might make their livelihood after release. Inmates in their cells manufactured items used in prisons, such as bedding, clothing, utensils and mats. Other government departments, including the Post Office, War Office and Admiralty, were supplied with prison-made goods, and inmate labour was also used for the repair and alteration of prison buildings.[17] The development of different types of labour could allow specialist prisons to hold certain categories of prisoner.[18] Thus, on Merseyside, Liverpool was used for short-term prisoners undertaking first-class hard labour, while Kirkdale held longer-term inmates employed on industrial work.[19]

Telegraph-pole-plan prisons

Following their assumption of responsibility for local prisons, the Prison Commissioners commenced a building campaign to bring the fabric of the prison estate up to acceptable standards. Of the sixty-seven prisons open in 1880, thirty-six were said to be of modern construction or nearly so, twenty-three were of partly new construction and eight were 'of old design and radically bad'.[20] Those, which were so substandard as to be incapable of modernisation, were either closed or replaced by entirely new prisons. New cells were provided at existing prisons where additional accommodation was required as a consequence of the closure of other prisons or a rise in the local population. Improvements were made to the facilities of prisons, including the arrangements for cooking, washing, healthcare and sanitation.

The local prison estate in 1878 comprised radial prisons erected between 1842 and 1877 and earlier prisons which had been adapted to

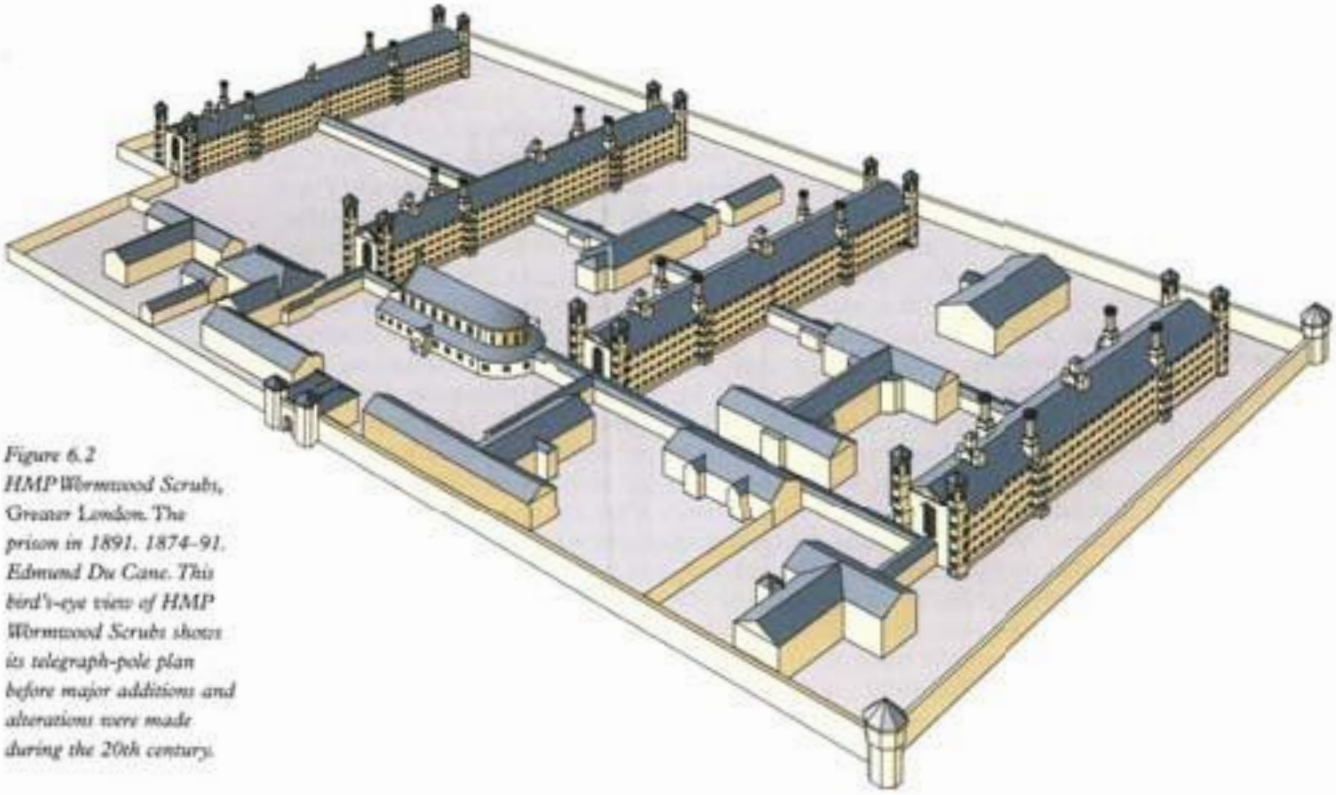


Figure 6.2
HMP Wormwood Scrubs, Greater London. The prison in 1891. 1874–91. Edmund Du Cane. This bird's-eye view of HMP Wormwood Scrubs shows its telegraph-pole plan before major additions and alterations were made during the 20th century.

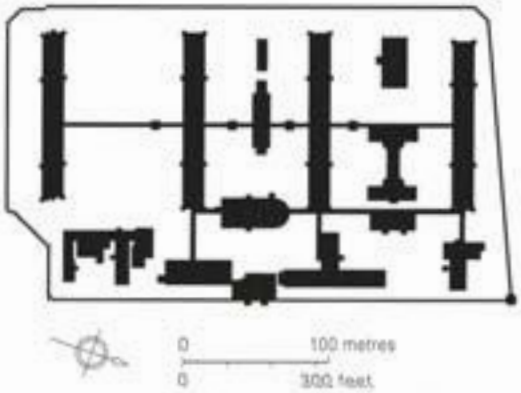


Figure 6.3
HMP Wormwood Scrubs, Greater London. Block plan. 1874–91. Edmund Du Cane.

the separate system. The first prison erected by the Prison Commissioners, Dorchester, had a radial layout. Work on the prison was underway by 1880 and the plans for the prison may have been drawn up sometime before 1878.[21] However, the Commissioners rejected the radial plan, which had dominated prison architecture during the past forty years, at the four prisons they rebuilt during the 1880s and early 1890s. In its place, they favoured versions of a 'telegraph-pole' plan, with detached pavilions linked by a covered passage. The inspiration for this layout was Wormwood Scrubs, which was erected as a convict prison to designs by Edmund Du Cane between 1874 and 1891 (Figs 6.2 and 6.3).[22] The prison has four parallel, Pentonville-style cell blocks. The blocks are four-storeyed and they are orientated north–south. Three of them are 385ft (115m) long and one is 360ft (110m) long, and they stand 220ft to 260ft (65 to 80m) apart. The wings were built with projecting sanitary annexes and they were originally joined at their centres by a single-storey covered way (Figs 6.4 and 6.5). Between the wings were exercise yards and detached buildings containing the kitchen, bath-houses, laundry and chapel (Fig 6.6). South of the wings were further buildings, including male and female receptions and hospitals, offices, workshops, stores and the gatehouse. The telegraph-pole plan was further developed at Fresnes in France and in American prisons, where separate cell blocks were ranged on either side of a spine corridor.[23]

The origins of the telegraph-pole plan may be found in pavilion-plan hospitals. At the end of the Crimean War in 1856, Florence Nightingale and others campaigned for the pavilion plan to be adopted in English hospital design. It was characterised by detached pavilions with opposed windows to provide cross-ventilation, and corner sanitary annexes.[24] The pavilions, which lay north–south so that each side

Figure 6.4
HMP Wormwood Scrubs, Greater London. D wing, 1878. Edmund Du Cane. D wing, accommodating 351 prisoners, was the first of the four parallel cell blocks to be completed. It later housed female convicts. [AA95/05708]

received some sunlight during the course of the day, were situated either around a central courtyard or along a spine corridor. Based on late 18th-century prototypes, a number of pavilion-plan hospitals had been erected in France and Belgium between 1820 and 1850, including Lariboisière Hospital, Paris (1846–54). Work started in 1858 on the first two hospitals of this type in England, Blackburn Infirmary and the Royal Marine Barracks Hospital at Woolwich, but the best known and most publicised was the Herbert Military Hospital at Woolwich (Fig 6.7). Designed by Captain Douglas Galton of the Royal Engineers, who was assisted by R O Mennie, Surveyor of Works to the War Department, the hospital was constructed between 1861 and 1865.[25] Its seven two-storey pavilions are joined by a continuous

Figure 6.5
HMP Wormwood Scrubs, Greater London. D wing interior. 1878. Edmund Du Cane. D wing was the last wing to be refurbished during the 1990s and is the only one that is similar to its original Victorian appearance.
[BB98/01251]

central corridor. In general layout, Wormwood Scrubs bears a remarkable resemblance to the Herbert Military Hospital, with its detached, parallel blocks on a north–south orientation. However, the former's wings are taller and further apart than the latter's pavilions, which are linked by a spine corridor rather than covered ways. Inevitably the internal arrangements of the Herbert Hospital, with its open, cross-ventilated wards, were diametrically opposed to those of Wormwood Scrubs, which has galleried tiers of cells.

Many of the features of telegraph-pole prisons not found in radial ones, had already appeared in convict prisons in the late 1840s and 1850s. The public-works prisons at Portland and Portsmouth had detached, parallel cell blocks lying north–south.[26] Fulham Refuge and Woking Invalid Convict Establishment were built with projecting ablution towers, while Portsmouth, Brixton and Chatham had annexes containing water closets and slop basins in the main body of the wings.[27] That local prisons did not follow this route was a consequence of the influence of Joshua Jebb, who ensured that the radial prison was seen as symbiotic with the separate system. Sufficient new separate prisons were erected between the 1840s and 1860s for there to be no need for another general rebuilding on an improved plan.

The Prison Commissioners built four new prisons on the telegraph-pole plan during the 1880s, at Bristol, Norwich, Nottingham and Shrewsbury. Each replaced an existing prison, built during the late 18th or early 19th century, that fell short of modern standards. Bristol City Gaol and Nottingham Borough Gaol were situated on restricted urban sites and at Norwich the county gaol occupied the castle, so all three prisons were rebuilt on greenfield sites. The Bristol City authorities had commenced the construction of a new prison at Horfield in 1875 and the boundary wall was completed. However, work was suspended in 1877 pending the passage of the prisons bill through parliament. The layout of the intended prison is not known but by 1882 building work had resumed under the Commissioners. The new prison probably opened in 1883, although building work continued until 1889.[28] Alexander McHardy, Surveyor of Prisons from 1882 to 1886, and subsequently also the architect of Aberdeen prison (1891), designed it.[29] The new prisons at Norwich (1885–90) and Nottingham (1889–91) were erected to the designs of Alten Beamish, McHardy's successor as Surveyor.[30] Shrewsbury, by contrast, was built on the site of the earlier prison and some of the existing buildings were retained. An outbreak of typhus in 1882–3 provided the impetus for the construction of the new prison, which was completed in 1888.[31]

In plan the four prisons shared many features with Wormwood Scrubs, although they were on a smaller scale. None of the prisons had more than two wings originally, one male and the other female. While the wings are parallel at Shrewsbury, Nottingham and Norwich, they are perpendicular at Bristol. The cell blocks lie north–south at Nottingham, but the other prisons are oriented either north-west–south-east (Bristol male wing) or north-east–south-west (Bristol female wing, Norwich and Shrewsbury), which means that some cells do not benefit from sunlight. The male and female wings differ greatly in size, the men's cell blocks being

wider, taller and longer than the women's. The male wings have cells on both sides of a central open corridor, and are three or four storeys high (Figs 6.8 and 6.9). The female wings are generally of two or three storeys with cells on one side only of a corridor. However, at Nottingham the wing is double-sided and at Bristol it has four storeys (Fig 6.10). At Shrewsbury, the male wing (A wing) is twenty-two bays long and the female wing (C wing) is twelve bays long (Fig 6.11). Bristol had accommodation for 188 men and 60 women, and at Norwich A wing had 143 male cells and D wing had 14 female ones.[32] The cell blocks are built of brick on a pier-and-panel principle, with pilasters and sunk panels on a plinth, the basements being at ground level (Fig 6.12). They were erected with projecting sanitary annexes instead of individual water closets and basins in each cell.

The layout of the other buildings of a telegraph-pole prison differed from that in a radial prison. The gatehouses were simpler and were no longer flanked by residences for the chaplain and governor, the latter being provided with a detached house near the prison (Fig 6.13). The administration offices and chapel, which were usually located in a separate short wing of a radial prison, were instead situated either at one end of the male wing, as at Nottingham and Bristol, or at right-angles to it, as at Norwich (*see* Fig 6.8; Figs 6.14 and 6.15). The offices were located on the ground floor, with the chapel on the floor above (Fig 6.16). At Shrewsbury, administration was located in a surviving range of the 18th-century prison. Separate buildings for the kitchen and laundry were provided. They were usually detached, although at Bristol the former laundry, now the 'Time' workshop, is attached to the female wing. The kitchen, in which the men were employed, and the laundry, worked by the women, were situated near their respective wings, to which they were linked by covered passages. Access by female prisoners to the chapel was also along a covered passage.

Figure 6.6
HMP Wormwood Scrubs, Greater London. Interior of chapel. 1885–9. Edmund Du Cane. The chapel of St Francis of Assisi is the first building seen on entering the prison gate and is probably the largest chapel in any English prison. It has a seven-bay aisled nave and a nine-bay apse separated from an ambulatory by a solid wall. [BB98/01250]

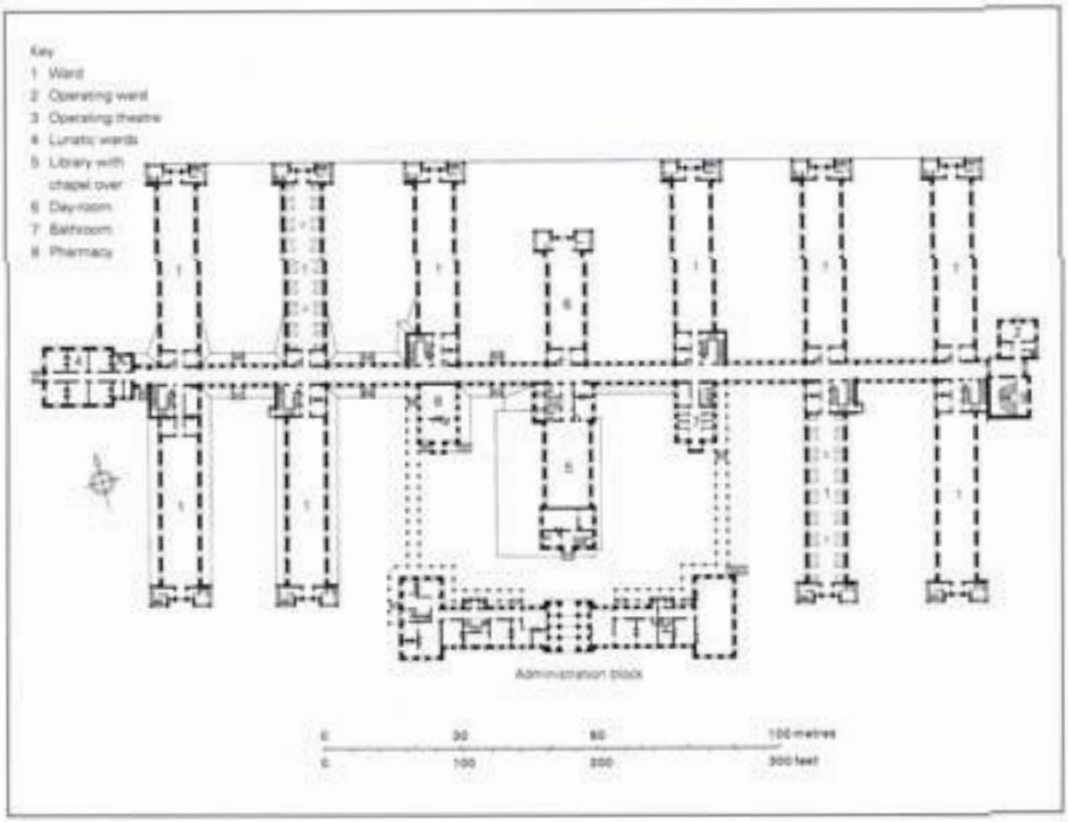


Figure 6.7
Herbert Military Hospital, Greenwich, Greater London. Plan. 1861–5. [Based on The Builder, *14 April 1866, 268]*

Figure 6.8
HMP Nottingham, Nottinghamshire. Administration/chapel with male wing behind. 1889–91. Alfred Beamish. The administration and chapel, which has round-headed windows and is surmounted by a clock tower, are situated at the southern end of B wing, the former male wing. B wing has three storeys and a basement, is 26 bays long and contains 180 cells. [AA96/03680]

Figure 6.9
HMP Nottingham, Nottinghamshire. Male wing and linking walkways. 1889–91. Alfred Bemrose. A covered way survives between B and C wings. This originally allowed segregated access for male prisoners to the kitchen and for female prisoners to the chapel. [AA96/03685]

At Nottingham, two arcaded covered ways survive. One originally contained back-to-back passages connecting the former male wing (B wing) to the kitchen and the former female wing (C wing) to the chapel (*see* Fig 6.9). The other links B wing to the former men's reception and infirmary.

A determination to prevent infection from contagious diseases ensured the provision of purpose-built reception and healthcare facilities in the new prisons.[11] Reception areas were no longer confined to the basements, as in radial prisons, but were now located, along with hospitals, in two buildings, one for men and the other for women. They either stood alone or were attached to a wing. These buildings were generally of three storeys with the reception on the ground floor, an infirmary on the first floor and an isolation ward,

Figure 6.10 (above) HMP Bristol. Former female wing, 1883. A design drawing for the former women's wing at HMP Bristol, now F wing, dated 29 May 1883 survives at the prison. The wing was single-sided with the exception of three bays at the north end. The female hospital/reception block and the laundry were attached to the wing. Bristol prison ceased to hold female prisoners in 1921. [AA95/04446]

with separate external entry, on the second floor. On admission, new inmates had to be given a medical examination, to check for infectious diseases and to ensure appropriate treatment during their sentence. Both the prisoners and their clothing had to be cleansed. The reception facilities therefore included small cells for waiting prisoners, examination rooms, baths, a disinfector for fumigating clothes and a store to keep them in.[38] The infirmaries contained open wards, cells for convalescents, padded cells, a surgery, a dispensary and, for women, a lying-in ward.

Alterations and additions to existing prisons, 1878–1895

R G Alford published six volumes of *Notes on the Buildings of English Prisons*, which give detailed information about the sixty-one local and convict prisons then open in both England and Wales. Aimed at the official visitor, blank pages were supplied to enable the volumes to be kept up to date with the frequent alterations made to prisons. The entries were based on a number of visits by Alford to each prison, the first of which (with three exceptions) took place between

Figure 6.11 (opposite, bottom left) HMP Shrewsbury, Shropshire. Interior of C wing, the former female wing. 1887. This wing is of two storeys with cells on one side only. It ceased to be a women's wing in 1922 and now houses vulnerable prisoners. [AA96/02648]

Figure 6.12 (opposite, bottom right) HMP Shrewsbury, Shropshire. Exterior of male wing. 1885. Most of the Commissioners' prison buildings erected during the 1880s used tall pilasters to enliven the otherwise plain exteriors. [AA96/02642]

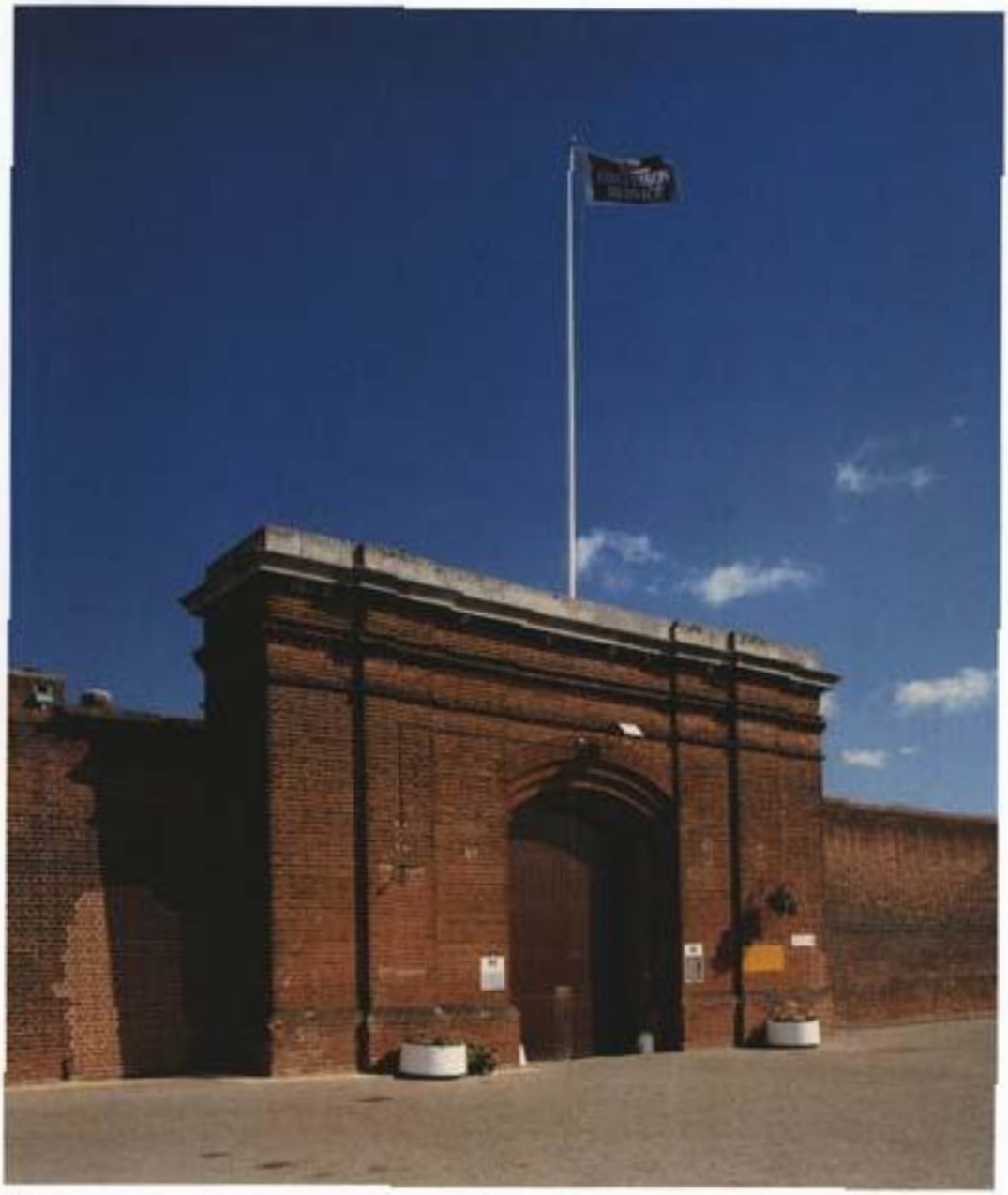


Figure 6.13 (left) HMP Norwich, Norfolk. Gate. 1885–90. Alten Beamish. The gatehouse, like many of the other buildings, is very utilitarian in appearance, and was presumably a conscious symbol of the frugal life of the inmates inside. [AA96/05250]

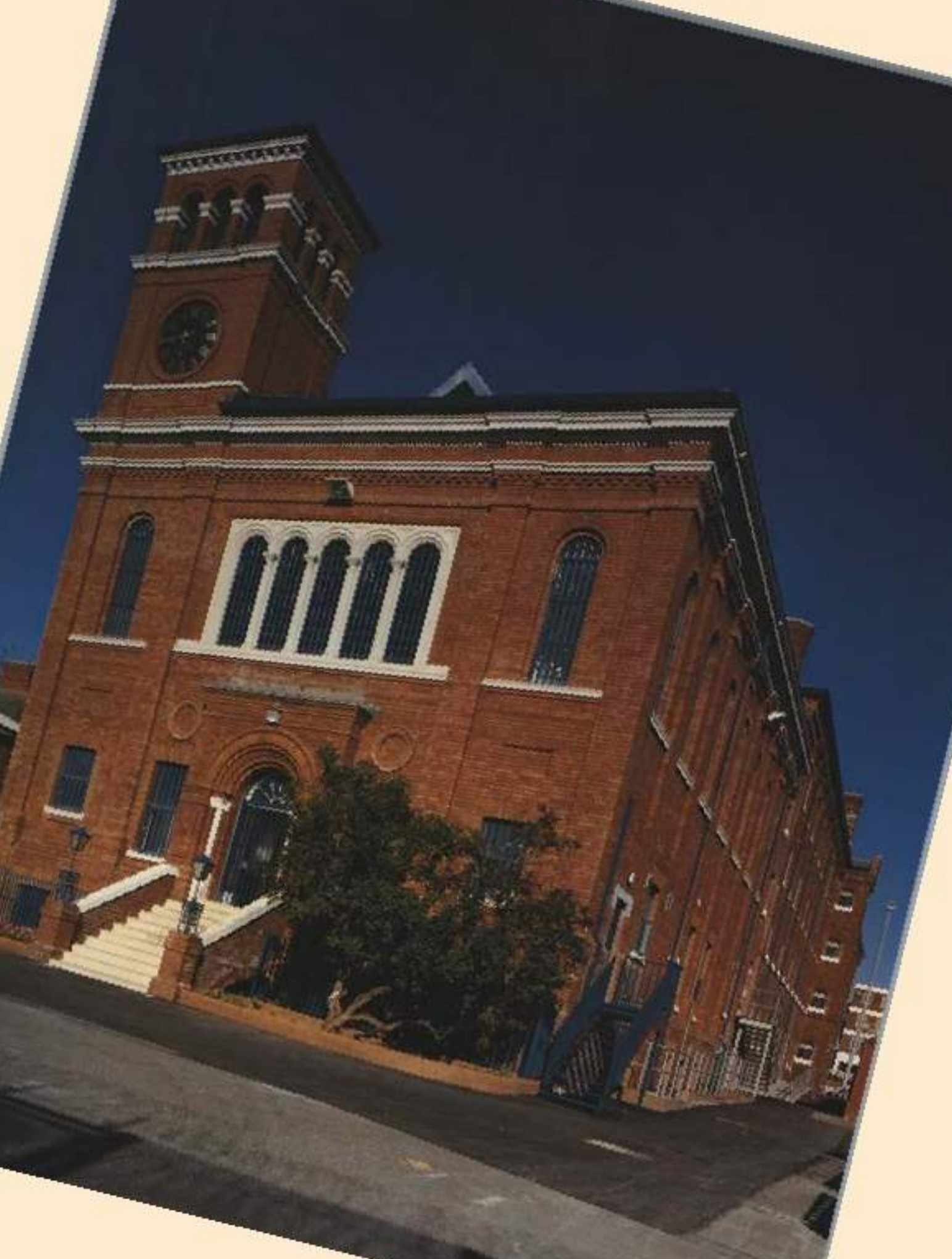
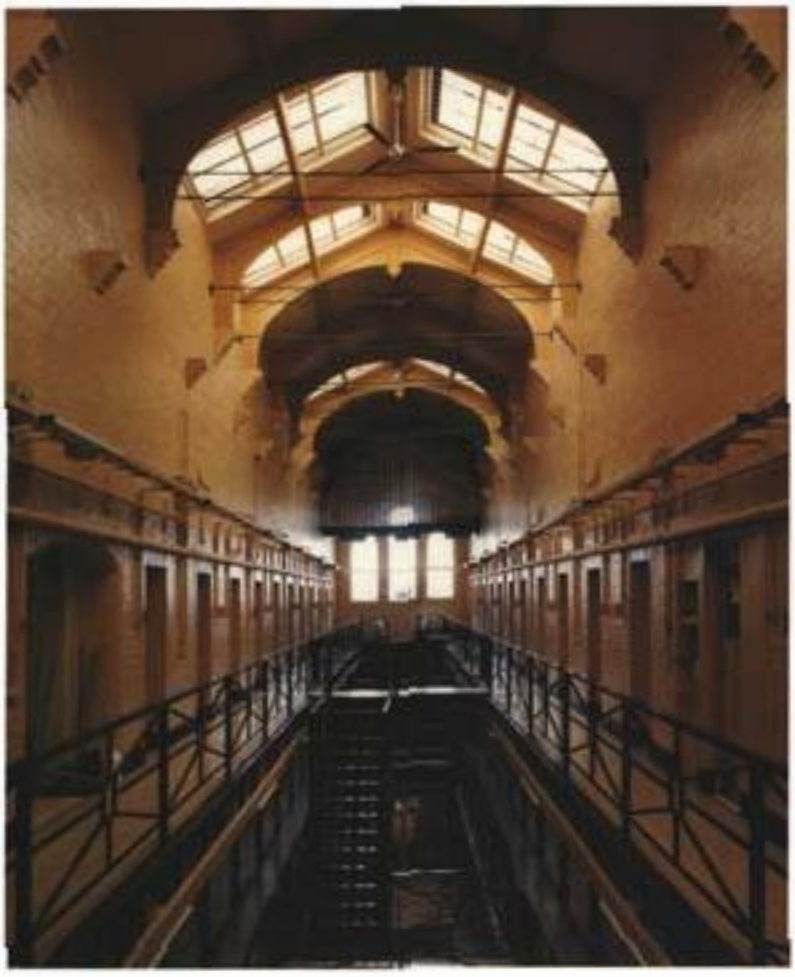


Figure 6.14 (opposite) HMP Bristol. Administration/chapel with male wing behind. Mid-1880s. The original administration block is attached to the west end of A/G wing (the former male wing). Built with simple classical details, with a decorative clock tower above the main façade, it is consciously different from the utilitarian cell block behind. The ground floor was divided into a series of offices while the upper floor housed the chapel, which has subsequently been converted into a gymnasium. [AA95/04447]

Figure 6.15 (top, left) HMP Norwich, Norfolk. Administration/chapel with male wing behind. 1885–90. The chapel and office block are located in a wing that is perpendicular to A wing, the former male wing. [AA96/05249]

Figure 6.16 (left) HMP Norwich, Norfolk. Interior of chapel. 1885–90. [AA96/05257]



1902 and 1904. Descriptions of the site, buildings and services of the prisons are included, together with historical information, some of which is not entirely reliable. His accounts show that in the decades following the appointment of the Prison Commissioners, many of the prisons built before 1878 were extended and altered to provide additional accommodation. One of the first means employed was the conversion into cells of stores, workshops and bathrooms in wing basements and the opening-up of the corridor floors. In the year after the 1877 Act came into force, 706 basement cells were created and a further 454 were commenced. Cells had been formed in the lowest storey of twelve prisons, including Birmingham, Leicester, Liverpool and Manchester, by 1890 (Fig 6.17).[29]

New cells were also constructed, with 850 underway by 31 March 1879.[30] Substantial alterations were carried out at some prisons, including Ipswich, where between 1879 and 1885 the former county gaol became a female prison, the old borough gaol was converted into a house for the governor and a new male prison and gatehouse were erected.[31] At other prisons new cell blocks were built and existing wings were heightened or lengthened. Two wings were added to Canterbury between 1880 and 1882.[32] B wing has nine bays and four storeys and held fifty-three men, while C wing, a single-sided, three-storey, nine-bay wing, accommodated seventeen women. At Knutsford, 287 new cells were formed between 1878 and 1881, and after the closure of Manchester City Prison at Bellevue in 1888, a further 225 male cells were added and a new female wing was built.[33] Preston was also enlarged as a consequence of Bellevue closing; twenty-nine cells for women were added by raising A wing by one floor to four storeys. The wing was further heightened to five storeys in 1894 (Fig 6.18).[40] B and C wings at both Leeds and Holloway were extended in length in 1882. At Leeds they were lengthened by six bays and at Holloway their extension provided 340 additional cells.[41]

Public concern about preventing the spread of infectious diseases had found expression in the 1875 Public Health Act, and one of the Commissioners' main priorities was to make improvements to the facilities which contributed to the health and welfare of prisoners, including kitchens, laundries, receptions, hospitals, sanitation

and anti-suicide measures. The kitchen and laundry were removed from the main body of prisons into separate buildings. New kitchens were built at a number of prisons including Liverpool, where one was erected to the designs of A B McHardy by 1885.[42] Laundries and wash-houses of thirty-one prisons were improved or rebuilt by 1890, including those at Canterbury (1881–2), Leicester (1882) and Durham (1885).[43] New receptions and hospitals were also provided at many existing prisons, and fifteen hospitals were in progress by the early 1880s.[44] Combined receptions, infirmaries and isolation wards occupied detached two- or three-storey buildings similar to those of the new telegraph-pole prisons. At Maidstone (1884) and Worcester (1885–6) the male reception/hospital had two floors.[45] At Hull and Durham (both 1885) and at Cambridge, where the building was apparently designed by Du Cane in about 1883, the female facilities were located in three-storey structures.[46] At other prisons, the receptions and hospitals were built and sited separately, as at the City House of Correction, Holloway. A new male hospital was erected in 1883–4, a new female one was built between 1890 and 1892 and reception blocks for men and women were constructed in 1885–6 (Fig 6.19).[47] Improvements were also made to the drainage, sanitation and water supply of prisons following the removal of the in-cell water closets and washbasins. They were replaced by sanitary annexes containing toilets and washing facilities, which either occupied a column of cell spaces inside the body of a wing or projected in towers from the side walls of cell blocks. It was reported in 1890 that the water closets had been removed from all except three prisons.[48] A number of anti-suicide measures had also been introduced by 1890. These included raising wing railings, extending wire netting across cell-block corridors and removing or altering air-inlet valves. Gas lights were removed from cells, and the bell handles in cells were replaced by electric bell pushes.[49]

Inmates sentenced to hard labour spent the first month of their prison term working on the treadwheel or crank and the rest of their sentence occupied on industrial tasks, normally undertaken in their cells. In July 1878 there were treadwheels in twenty-two prisons in England and Wales, many of which were solely punitive in their operation.[50] In order to ensure conformity with the requirement that all labour should be productive, new flour mills were built and old ones were brought into use again at fourteen prisons before 1890.[51] A new treadwheel house for 356 prisoners and 5 corn mills were erected at Coldbath Fields between 1881 and 1883.[52] New treadmills were built at Leeds and Portsmouth in the

Figure 6.17 (opposite, top) HMP Liverpool, Merseyside. Basement of wing. Late 19th or early 20th century. To provide extra accommodation several of the storage rooms and other spaces in the foundations were converted into cells. The original ground floor was partially removed to allow more light and air into the basement. [AA95/05912]

Figure 6.18 (opposite, bottom) HMP Preston, Lancashire. A wing. 1868–70 and later alterations. In the late 19th century many wings were lengthened and raised to provide extra accommodation. A wing was a three-storey wing with seventy-four female cells and four punishment cells. It was heightened to four floors in 1888 and to its present five storeys in 1894. [BB97/04469]

Figure 6.19 (left) HMP Holloway, Greater London. Reception cubicles of former prison in 1970 before their demolition. Reception blocks for admitting male and female inmates were erected at the prison in 1885–6. However, after the prison became women-only in 1902, they were used for convicted and remand prisoners respectively. [BB70/10185]

early 1880s and a decade later the treadmill driving a corn mill at Stafford was reconstructed.[53] Most industrial labour took place in cells but there were some limited opportunities for associated work. Workshops for prisoners employed in the building trades existed in twenty-three prisons by 1890, and other trades were also practised in association in some prisons.[54] At Wandsworth, there were shops for carpenters, smiths, fitters, plumbers, tin men, painters and bricklayers by 1881–2, and further workshops for brushmaking, bookbinding, shoemaking and tailoring by 1890.[55]

Evelyn Ruggles-Brise and the impact of the Gladstone Committee

The year 1895 was a momentous one in the history of English prisons. First, Edmund Du Cane retired as Chairman of the Prison Commissioners and was succeeded by Evelyn Ruggles-Brise. Ruggles-Brise had entered the Home Office in 1881, serving four Home Secretaries as a private secretary after 1884, before becoming a Prison Commissioner in 1892. Secondly, the year saw the publication of the report of the Departmental Committee on Prisons.[56] Herbert Asquith, the Home Secretary had appointed the Committee in 1894 under the chairmanship of Herbert Gladstone. Gladstone, the son of William Gladstone, the Prime Minister, had entered Parliament in 1880. By 1892 he had risen to be Parliamentary Under-Secretary at the Home Office and in 1894 he was made First Commissioner of Public Works. He was subsequently Home Secretary from 1905 to 1910. The Committee was formed in response to a series of articles in the *Daily Chronicle*, published in January 1894 under the title 'Our Dark Places', which were highly critical of Du Cane and his regime.[57] Gladstone's brief was to examine the administration of prisons and the treatment and classification of prisoners. His recommendations included the improved classification of prisoners; the special treatment of certain categories of inmate, such as juveniles, habitual criminals and drunkards; the complete abolition of unproductive labour and the introduction of associated work. They were implemented by Ruggles-Brise, whose primary aims were safe custody, good discipline and the prevention of crime. The 1898 Prison Act introduced a threefold classification of local prisoners and the 1899 Prison Rules initiated productive, associated labour.[58] The 1908 Prevention of Crime Act made special provision for the reformation and detention of juveniles and habitual criminals by the formal establishment of borstal institutions, by the creation of a sentence of preventive detention and by the foundation of a prison for those serving it.[59] The recommendations of an inquiry into habitual inebriates in 1893 formed the basis of the 1898 Inebriates Act, under which special provision was made for criminal habitual drunkards.[60]

A further important development was the amalgamation of the local- and convict-prison systems. The Prison Commissioners and the Directors of Convict Prisons were formally united by the 1898 Prison Act. The Gladstone Committee had recommended this and in 1896 the two bodies had issued a joint annual report.[61] Many features of convict prisons were introduced into local prisons and vice versa. The 1877 Act had brought local prisons under central government control, like convict prisons. However, a proposed amendment to the original 1877 bill had stated that the legislation was unsatisfactory since it did not extend to convict prisons.[62] The Act itself introduced into local prisons a progressive-stages system similar to that applied in convict establishments since 1864. A first definite step towards amalgamating local and convict prisons was taken in 1886–7, when convicts were able to spend the first nine months of a sentence of penal servitude, reduced to six months in 1898, in cellular confinement in a local prison.[63] A consequence of Gladstone's recommendation that first offenders should be segregated from habitual criminals was the creation in 1896–7 of a star class in local prisons, similar to one which had operated in convict prisons since 1879.[64] The 1898 Act allowed the Home Secretary to make rules for local prisons as well as convict prisons, regulations for the former previously having to be changed by legislation. Two features of convict prisons introduced into local prisons by the Act were a period of separation followed by work in association for those sentenced to hard labour and the possibility of remission for the well behaved and industrious. Convict prisons,

conversely, were given visiting committees similar to those that had taken over the inspectoral powers of visiting Justices in local prisons after 1877. Other, later changes included the extension from convict to local prisons of the 'red-collar', later 'red-band', system, whereby trusted inmates could work unsupervised, and improved classification in convict prisons.[65] Increasingly, the main difference between sentences of imprisonment and of penal servitude was no longer one of treatment but of length.

Prison buildings, labour and workshops, 1895–1921

Improvements to the layout and facilities of prisons continued to be made after 1895, although on a more limited scale than before. Opening up basements, extending existing wings and erecting new ones created additional cell accommodation. Cells were provided in the basements of Liverpool and Wandsworth in the 1900s, and A wing at Leeds was lengthened to provide forty-four extra cells in 1907–8.[66] Substantial rebuilding work was undertaken at Brixton after it reverted to being a civil prison again in 1897, including the erection of a new gatehouse, and C and D wings.[67] Another wing (F/G) was constructed in 1905 on the model of the recently constructed wing (DX) at Holloway.[68] These two cell blocks were built of ferro-concrete, with an internal structure of corrugated steel covered in cement and external walls faced in brick. DX wing at Holloway had 3 storeys, 18 bays and 100 cells, while F/G wing at Brixton was much larger, with 4 storeys, 26 bays and 200 cells (Fig 6.20). Both wings had cells measuring only 10ft 6in. by 7ft by 9ft high (3.2 × 2.1 × 2.7m), which were smaller than those at Pentonville. They were heated by pipes running through the cells and lit by electricity.

Improvements to the hygiene of prisons included the construction of infirmaries, ablution towers and bath-houses. The hospital at Chelmsford, a three-storey building that originally contained an isolation ward on its upper floor, was built in 1900–1.[69] The female hospital at Birmingham, a two-storey structure, was erected in 1903–4.[70] It included a crèche for prisoners' babies, but R G Alford noted that the building was seriously underused.[71] The two-storey, twenty-four-bed, male infirmary at Durham (now the Health Care Centre), built 1907–9, was said by Alford to be the last elaborate hospital structure.[72] Thereafter, the plans were simpler and the buildings were generally of a single storey as, for example, at Winchester.[73] New wings were built with sanitary annexes and ablution towers continued to be added to prison wings, including A and C wings at Bedford in 1902–3 and A and B wings at Leicester in 1903–4.[74] Bath-houses had to be constructed to replace the bathing spaces lost when basements were converted into cells, as at Wandsworth, where improved bathing facilities were provided in 1906 (Figs 6.21 and 6.22).[75]

Figure 6.20
HMP Holloway, Greater London. D and DX wings of former prison in 1970. In 1905 DX wing was built at the outer end of D wing using new structural techniques. It was built to house 100 'star' offenders. [BB70/10137]

Figure 6.21
HMP Wandsworth, Greater London. Interior of former bath-house. 1906. The bath-house developed as a distinct building type at the end of the 19th century in response to greater concern about hygiene. [AA96/00862]

Figure 6.22
HMP Wandsworth, Greater London. Former bath-house. 1906. The former bath-house was built in the yard between B and C wings. [AA96/00861]

The Gladstone Committee recommended that prisoners should be taught trades in classes and undertake productive work together under close supervision.[76] The 1899 Prison Rules implemented associated labour and further emphasised that industrial training should impart skills that might enable inmates to earn a livelihood on release. James Duncan, the Comptroller of Industries, undertook the reorganisation of prison labour.[77] For prisoners to work together, adequate supervision and suitable accommodation were required, the provision of which was costly.[78] Prisoners were allowed to work in cell-block corridors and former treadwheel houses were converted into associated-labour shops.[79] When the use of unproductive treadwheels ceased in 1899, twenty-nine productive ones were still operational. Only thirteen of these remained in 1901, when productive treadwheels were finally abolished.[80] The treadwheel shop at Exeter had been turned into workshops as early as 1892–3 and by 1910 those of at least twenty-six local prisons had been converted.[81] The floor of the former treadwheel house at Liverpool was used for carpentry, metalworking and the manufacture of beds for the Navy, while looms occupied the galleries.[82] Matmaking and wood-chopping were among the activities taking place in the wheelhouse at Worcester, while the old mill house was used as a store for the manufactured goods.[83] At Bristol, a new treadwheel and flour mill were erected in 1898, but by 1900 the wheelhouse had been converted to an industrial shop.[84] By 1905–6 the conversion of treadwheel houses was nearly complete and subsequently purpose-built workshops were erected.[85] At Maidstone, for example, a printing workshop was built in 1909, in which the later volumes of Alford's *Notes on the Buildings of English Prisons* were produced.[86] By 1901–2, 5,800 prisoners, just over 33 per cent of the local prison population, worked in association outside their cells.[87]

The profusion of new facilities at local prisons during the late 19th and early 20th centuries ensured that radial prisons lost the pristine simplicity of plan envisaged by Joshua Jebb. By about 1925, the spaces between the cell blocks, formerly occupied by exercise yards or left open, had become filled with a proliferation of buildings deemed essential for the modern prison,

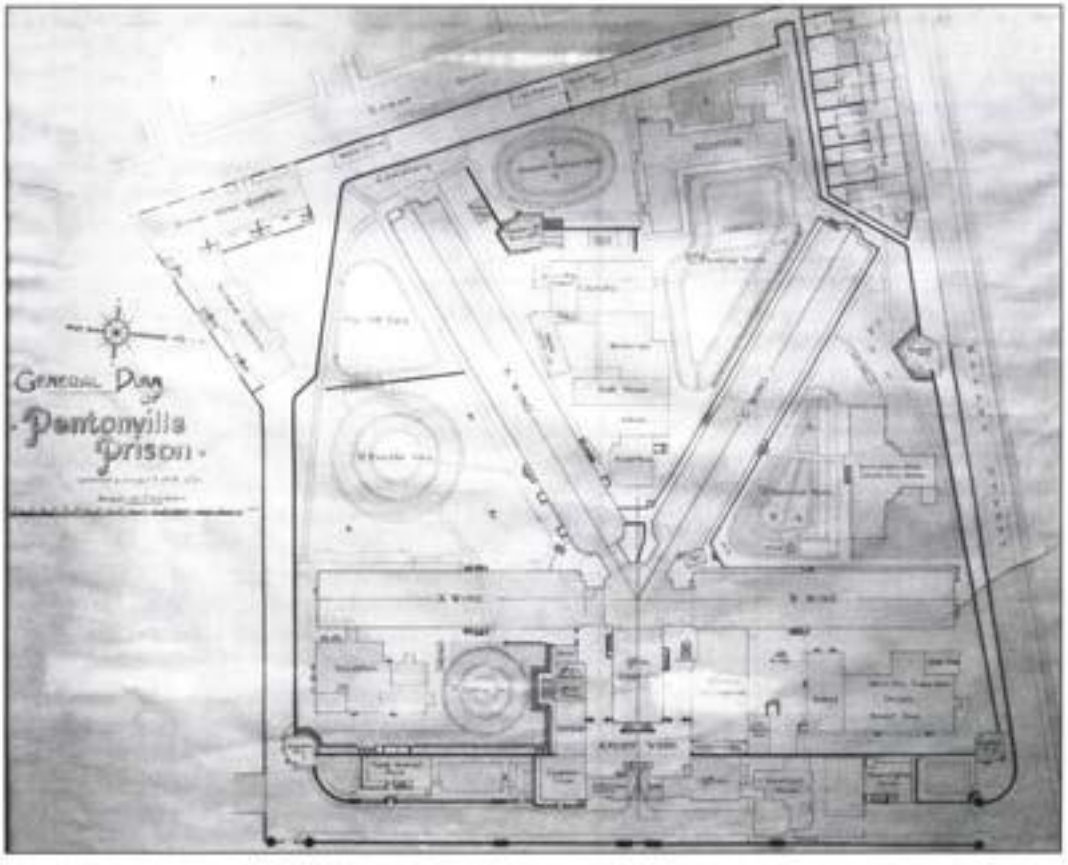


Figure 6.23
HMP Pentonville, Greater London. Plan of prison in 1925. This plan shows how the original simplicity of the radial plan had disappeared when several new buildings with specialised functions were added between the wings. [BB94/11249]

a trend which continued up to the late 20th century (Fig 6.23). At Pentonville, the additions included a new infirmary (1871, enlarged 1883–4); kitchen (1882–3), reception ward (1886, enlarged 1907), synagogue (1900–1), offices (1912–13), and governor's house (1914–15). The yard between B and C wings was particularly congested and was described by Alford as being 'thick with buildings'.[88]

Classification of prisoners and specialist prisons, 1895–1921

The 1894 Departmental Committee on Prisons criticised the existing classification of prisoners as inadequate and recommended that particular groups should be kept together for special treatment.[89] After 1898 prisoners were classified according to their age, whether they were first or habitual offenders and whether their offence was minor or serious. Improvements in classification were achieved within, and between, local and convict prisons and by the provision of specialist reformative institutions for recidivists.

Local prisoners

Local prisons held minor or first offenders sentenced to a term of imprisonment not exceeding two years, with or without hard labour. The 1898 Prison Act sought to improve classification within local prisons by introducing three divisions to a sentence of imprisonment without hard labour.[90] Assignment to a division was undertaken by the convicting court not the prison. The first division was for first-class misdemeanants, the second for fine defaulters and the third for ordinary offenders. The measure was particularly designed to help fine defaulters, who made up a substantial proportion of minor offenders. However, the new divisions were not widely used by courts and the number of fine defaulters did not drop substantially until the 1914 Criminal Justice Act allowed seven days for a fine to be paid.[91] The Gladstone Committee had recommended that first offenders should be kept strictly separate from habitual criminals and, after a six-month experiment in London prisons, a 'star' class for first offenders was introduced into all local prisons (*see* above).

Reformatories

Reformatories based on American models were founded for inebriates, juvenile-adults and habitual criminals. A system of state reformatories had been established in the USA during the 1870s.[92] Their intended purpose was to protect society, prevent crime and reform offenders aged between 16 and 30 by means of individual treatment, progressive discipline, indeterminate sentences and the supervision of parole. Ruggles-Brise travelled to the USA in 1897 to visit the main state reformatories, including that at Elmira (New York).[93] The 1898 Inebriates Act and 1908 Prevention of Crime Act set up similar establishments in England at Aylesbury, Borstal and Camp Hill (Isle of Wight).[94] Situated on rural sites with land for cultivation attached, these new reformatories were to be less institutional than conventional prisons both in general layout and in the form of their buildings. Their inmates served long sentences during which they were subjected to moral, disciplinary and reformative influences. The regimes were based on progressive systems of grades and rewards, hard work and close supervision on discharge. Promotion between grades was achieved through good conduct, while bad behaviour was punished by a loss of privileges. Education and training were provided to help inmates earn their own living on release. Males were taught trades, females learnt domestic skills and both were instructed in gardening and farming. Prisoners were released on licence into the care of voluntary associations, which helped find them accommodation and employment, and monitored their subsequent behaviour.

Inebriates

Habitual offenders who served successive short sentences of imprisonment for crimes involving drunkenness had been recommended for special treatment by Gladstone. The 1879 Habitual Drunkards Act had tackled the problem of habitual inebriates by establishing retreats that they could enter voluntarily. However, the Departmental Committee on the Treatment of Inebriates, appointed in 1892 under the chairmanship of John Lloyd Wharton, found the system of voluntary retreats to be inadequate and instead recommended the provision of

reformatory institutions where criminal habitual drunkards could be held for lengthy periods.[97] Gladstone echoed this by calling for drunken recidivists to be held for long terms in particular prisons or in separate parts of prisons, where they should be treated as patients rather than criminals.[98] Under the 1898 Inebriates Act, an habitual drunkard who committed an offence whilst under the influence of alcohol could be sentenced to a maximum term of three years in an inebriate reformatory.[99] The Act authorised the Home Secretary to establish state reformatories and to certify those founded by local authorities or charitable bodies. Several certified reformatories were set up immediately and in 1900–1 state reformatories for 31 men and 120 women were established at Warwick and Aylesbury respectively. At Warwick, the inebriates were held temporarily in C wing before being moved in 1902–3 to permanent premises in D wing, the former debtors' prison. Accommodation for sixteen female inebriates was initially made available in D wing at Aylesbury, while a purpose-built institution was erected on a site adjacent to the prison between 1902 and 1905. The female reformatory comprised two accommodation blocks, a refractory block, administration, chapel, hospital, a range of domestic services and officers' quarters.[100] The wings, F and G, are of three storeys and are L-shaped in plan; the main ranges are single-sided with rooms on one side only of a corridor and the end pavilions contained dayrooms, dining rooms and special cells.

Both the state and certified institutions were intended to operate reformatory regimes but it soon became apparent that an uncontrollable element among the inmates was making the work of the certified reformatories impossible. Difficult and violent cases were moved to the state institutions and by 1905–6 over 10 per cent of the population of the certified reformatories was transferred to them.[101] All new admissions to the state reformatories were placed in the ordinary class and held in separate confinement.[102] Promotion to the special class permitted association at work and use of the communal rooms. By the end of 1906, 163 women and 71 men had been admitted to Aylesbury and Warwick.[103] The high number of women committed for drunkenness reflected contemporary perceptions of the evils of female inebriety and a reluctance to imprison male wage-earners, rather than a preponderance of women drunkards. Inebriate reformatories only ever dealt with a small minority of cases, and admissions to them fell after the introduction of licensing laws during World War I. In 1915 there were just thirty-nine inmates at Aylesbury and twenty at Warwick. The male state reformatory closed in April 1917 and the inebriates were transferred to Dorchester prison. By 1916–17 the female reformatory had only two occupants and was being used for other types of inmates. In 1918 it became part of a borstal institution.[104]

Juveniles and juvenile-adults: the beginnings of the borstal system

The Gladstone Committee was concerned to keep young offenders out of prison or failing that, to keep them apart from adult offenders. Its recommendations included raising the age of majority of juveniles from 16 to 17 and increasing the maximum age of admission into a reformatory school from 16 to 18.[105] Furthermore, the Committee wanted juveniles to receive special reformatory treatment in prison and a state penal reformatory was to be established for those aged between 16 and 21. In 1894, there were 41 English reformatory schools but on 31 March of that year there were still 100 juveniles in prison.[106] Acting on the Committee's recommendations, the Prison Commissioners selected prisons to which juveniles sentenced to over one month were to be sent – Bedford, Brecon, Devizes, Knutsford, Northallerton and Warwick. They were held separately from adults and were subjected to a regime of discipline, work, physical exercise and education.[107] After 1899 young offenders sentenced to a reformatory school no longer had to serve a preliminary term in prison, and following the 1908 Children's Act, juveniles were sent to Home Office schools instead of prison.[108]

The penal reformatory recommended by Gladstone was envisaged as a halfway house between a reformatory school and a prison, to which offenders aged between 16 and 21 would be sent for one to three years. The years 16 to 21 were deemed to be the 'dangerous age' for the formation of criminal habits, yet were an age at which rehabilitation was also still possible. Following Ruggles-Brise's visit to the USA, an experimental class was established at Bedford in 1899–1900 for offenders in this

Figure 6.24
Borstal, now HMP Rochester, Kent. Inmates building cell block. Photograph taken c 1910. Among the work carried out by the juvenile-adult offenders was the reconstruction of the prison. They began to rebuild the wings in 1908 and by 1913 the four wings had been completed. [Uncatalogued former Central Office of Information negative]

Figure 6.25
HMP Rochester, Kent. A wing. 1913. One of four new wings built between 1908 and 1913, A wing was designed to allow its inmates to enjoy an enhanced regime. It has a different internal layout from the other three wings, the inmates sleeping in small dormitories rather than cells. [AA96/04088]

Figure 6.26
HMP Rochester, Kent. Gate. 1870s, 1911. The gatehouse of the 1870s convict prison at Borstal was retained when the prison was redeveloped, although it was altered and enlarged in 1911. It bears the date 1908, the date both of the formal establishment of borstal institutions and the commencement of the rebuilding programme. The prison was opened officially on 1 August 1909. [AA96/04078]

age group serving sentences of between one month and two years in London prisons.[107] They were kept away from adult prisoners and received school lessons, industrial training, physical exercise, sound discipline and close supervision on discharge. The scheme was extended the following year to part of the convict prison at Borstal, to which juvenile-adults serving sentences longer than six months were sent from metropolitan prisons.[108] However, allowing sufficient time for the benefits of the regime to start to be felt was found to be essential and subsequently the minimum sentence became one year. The borstal system was extended to the north of England in 1906, when accommodation for forty juvenile-adults was provided in the former female wing, F wing, of Lincoln.[109] A modified version of the borstal system was introduced in June 1906 for all juvenile-adults, although only those serving over one month were instructed in a trade.[110] The 1908 Prevention of Crime Act formally established borstal institutions, at which juveniles aged between 16 and 21 could be sentenced to a progressive term of two to three years, after which they were placed under the care of the Borstal Association.[111] In 1908–9, a borstal institution for young women was established in the convict prison at Aylesbury, based on the model of American female reformatories such as Sherburn (Massachusetts) and Bedford (New York).[112] Further boys' borstal institutions were founded in 1910 in a former industrial school at Feltham (London) and in 1921 in the former convict prison at Portland.[113]

When 100 juvenile-adults were moved to Borstal, now HMP Rochester, in 1901, cells were created for them by amalgamating pairs of the convicts' sleeping berths into rooms measuring 9ft by 9ft by 7ft 6in. high (2.7 × 2.7 × 2.3m). More cells were formed after the convict prison closed in 1905, and by June 1908 there was accommodation for 256. There were also workshops, a schoolroom and a prison farm. In April 1908, work commenced on rebuilding the cell blocks, with much of the building work being undertaken by inmates (Fig 6.24). The four new wings are detached, two-storeyed and orientated north–south (Fig 6.25). They are arranged in parallel pairs on either side of a central area containing the former convicts' chapel (*see* Fig 5.14). The penal aspects of the buildings were kept to a minimum and the cell windows were to be domestic in appearance. Three wings, B, C and D, were built with open landings and contained 100 cells measuring 10ft 6in. by 7ft by 9ft high (3.2 × 2.1 × 2.7m). The fourth wing, A wing, was completed in 1912–13. It had classrooms and dining rooms on the ground

Figure 6.27
Borstal, now HMP Rochester, Kent. Inmates in woodwork shop. Photograph taken c 1910. Considerable emphasis was placed on education and productive labour, and the photographs taken in c 1910 illustrate the breadth of the activities taking place. [Uncatalogued former Central Office of Information negative]

floor and dormitories flanking a corridor on the first floor, and was used for running an enhanced regime. Other new buildings included a gymnasium, bath-house and gatehouse (Fig 6.26). The inmates progressed through a series of four grades – ordinary, intermediate, probationary and special. During the day, they undertook physical exercise and worked in association, receiving industrial and agricultural training, and in the evening they attended school lessons (Fig 6.27).[114]

Convicts and preventive detainees

Convict prisons held serious offenders sentenced to penal servitude for a minimum of three years. Following the improved classification of local prisoners, new categories were also introduced into convict prisons between 1902 and 1911. The main body of convicts was divided into star, intermediate and recidivist classes, while special treatment was accorded to juvenile-adults, long-sentence prisoners and aged convicts.[115] The main change, however, was the creation of a class of preventive detainees by the 1908 Prevention of Crime Act.

The Gladstone Committee had proposed creating a new, long sentence for professional criminals, who would be kept apart from other prisoners and held under less rigorous conditions. A bill to establish in convict prisons a division for habitual offenders serving a sentence of over seven years, who had already been in prison twice, failed to become law in 1903. However, the 1908 Act sought both to reform the adult recidivist and to protect society by removing him from it.[116] An habitual criminal who had spent three terms in prison since the age of 16 and who persisted in leading a dishonest life, could receive an additional term of five to ten years' preventive detention to be served after the expiration of a further sentence of penal servitude. Males sentenced to preventive detention were held in a purpose-built prison, Camp Hill, on the Isle of Wight, and female preventive detainees passed their sentence at Aylesbury and, later, at Liverpool.

Building work started on Camp Hill in 1909–10 and the prison opened in March 1912, although work was still in progress in 1914–15.[117] A description of the newly opened but unfinished prison emphasised its pleasant surroundings: 'What may be called a "garden village" is being built, and as the site is on sloping ground in the forest, the grouping of the white, and red and white single, double and four cottage blocks amongst the trees, will give a most pleasing effect when completed.'[118] Grouped around a central open area was a series of single- and two-storeyed buildings (Figs 6.28 and 6.29). The cell blocks, which had two storeys and contained fifty cells, had domestic features such as sash windows and six-panel cell doors (Fig 6.30). The administration building boasted a veranda and the chapel was similar to a small country church (Figs 6.31 and 6.32). The regime was less rigorous than that in an ordinary prison.[119] Inmates earned a small wage, which they could spend in a canteen or send to their families. They could associate at mealtimes and in the evenings, and they could grow vegetables on an allotment, to eat or sell to the prison. Prisoners began their sentence in the ordinary grade but after two years' model behaviour and hard work they were promoted to the special grade, which allowed them additional privileges including newspapers and tobacco. Those who were within two years of a conditional discharge were eligible for a halfway house between prison and the outside world.[120] Situated outside the walls but within the prison grounds were the 'parole lines', a group of sixteen self-contained tenements, each with a bedsitting room, kitchen and lavatory. At the end of their sentence, preventive detainees were released on licence into the care of the Central After-Care Association.

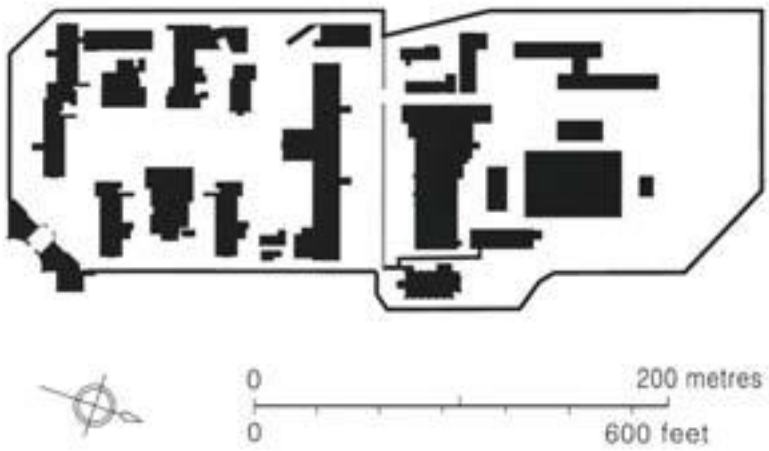
Figure 6.28
HMP Camp Hill, Isle of Wight. 1912, photograph taken before 1976. The prison originally held preventive detainees. In 1976 a new large H-plan wing opened in the extension to the site, where the gardens and greenhouses are located. [G11705/5]

In its early years, preventive detention was hailed as a great success in rehabilitating habitual offenders. By 1916, 495 people had been sentenced to it, with the greatest daily average population of Camp Hill being 271.[121] The reconviction rates of detainees compared favourably with those of convicts released from a sentence of penal servitude. However, the daily average number of inmates at Camp Hill had dropped to seventy-five by 1920–1, and the total number of recidivists sentenced to preventive detention – just 901 (878 men and 23 women) between August 1909 and December 1928 – was so small as to be negligible.[122] Furthermore, by the early 1920s it was recognised that many of those sent to Camp Hill were incapable of mending their ways and that the prison's principle raison d'être had become the removal of these people from society.[123] With fewer sentences of preventive detention being passed by the courts, it was no longer necessary to maintain such a large establishment for detainees and in 1931 borstal inmates were admitted to Camp Hill.[124]

Women

Until around 1900 all local prisons, with the exception of two in London (Pentonville and Wandsworth), had accommodation for female prisoners. The Prison Commissioners expressed the intention in 1878 of bringing women together in selected prisons but this was achieved only in London, where Westminster held all metropolitan female prisoners until it closed in 1883.[125] Wormwood Scrubs became a local prison in 1890 and held both men and women, as did Holloway, until 1902. In that year, Brixton reopened as a male local prison and Holloway became all-female and the only London prison to hold women.[126] In March 1894, 51 English local prisons had 4,210 cells for women (20 per cent) out of a total of 20,740 cells in 53 prisons.[127] By the time R G Alford made his visits to prisons in the early 1900s, the closure of female wings was well underway. Of the forty-nine English local prisons then open, eleven (Bedford, Chelmsford, Northallerton, Gloucester, Hereford, Lincoln and Wakefield and four London

Figure 6.29
HMP Camp Hill, Isle of Wight. Block plan.



prisons) held no women. Of the thirty-eight prisons holding women, ten held a substantially greater proportion of women than the others. These included Holloway, which held only female prisoners, and Liverpool, where nearly half of the cells were for women.[128] The process of concentrating women into fewer prisons accelerated after World War I. The proportion of female cells remained at about 20 per cent in 1922–3, when 22 English local prisons had 2,931 cells for women, out of a total of 31 prisons with accommodation for 15,611. However, at least six female wings had been closed for further committals and more closures followed.[129] By December 1931, the relative number of female cells had fallen to 11.5 per cent (1,553 out of 13,344 cells), and of 24 local prisons in England only 8 held women (Birmingham, Durham, Exeter, Holloway, Hull, Liverpool, Manchester and Winchester).[130]

Local prison closures, 1895–1931

The number of local prisons in England and Wales remained more or less constant between 1895 and 1913. Of the fifty-seven open in 1895, Newgate and York closed but Brixton reopened, so there were fifty-six prisons in 1913. However, between 1914 and 1922 twenty-four English and Welsh

Figure 6.30
HMP Camp Hill, Isle of Wight. Interior of wing. 1910s. Although the prison was meant to be different from contemporary prisons, it still employed the traditional form of cells on more than one floor flanking an open hall. [AA95/05607]

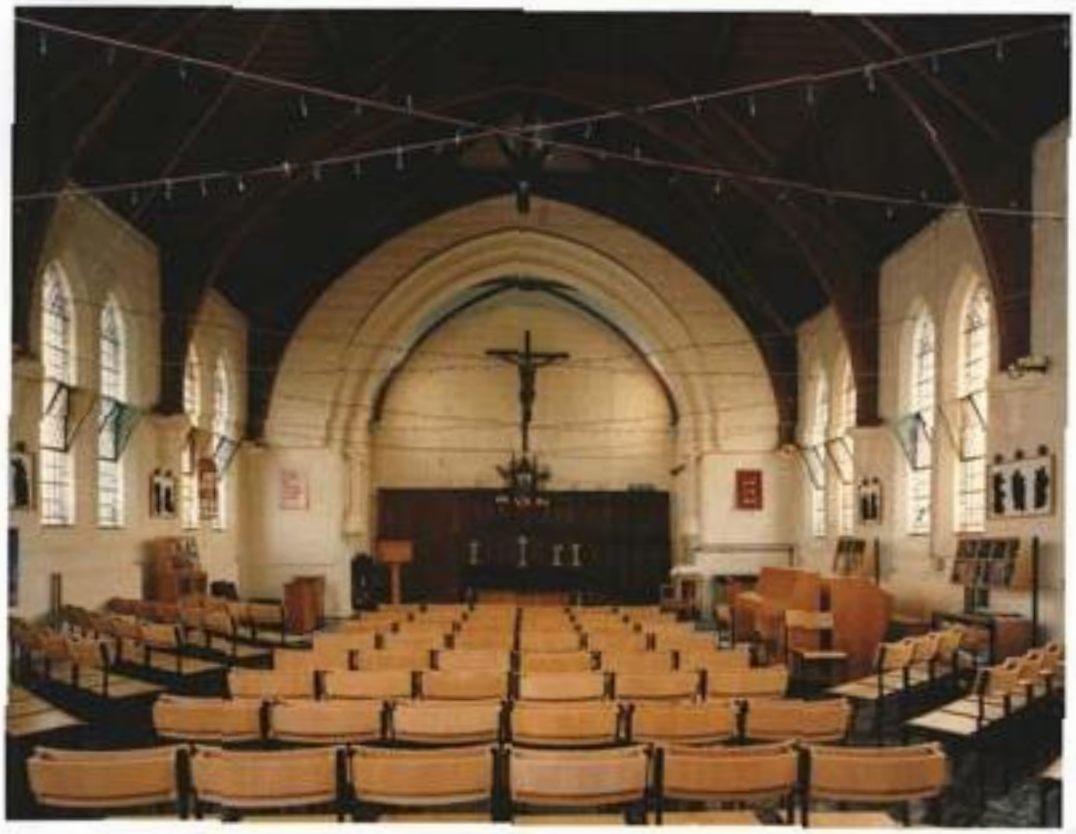


Figure 6.31 (above) HMP Camp Hill, Isle of Wight. Administration building. 1910s. The administration with a veranda around it is consciously designed to avoid appearing penal in character. In style it seems more appropriate for a hospital or an army barracks. [AA95/05627]

Figure 6.32 (left) HMP Camp Hill, Isle of Wight. Interior of chapel. 1910s. As with any prison built during the 19th or early 20th centuries, the chapel had a central role in the life of the community. [AA95/05622]

local prisons closed, of which nine subsequently reopened (*see* Appendix 3). Fourteen English prisons were closed to civil prisoners during World War I. Six of these prisons later reopened, including Wakefield, Lewes and Chelmsford. The borstal institution at Feltham was also closed from 1916 to 1920–1.[131] A further round of closures was made in 1922 for reasons of national economy. Five local prisons closed, Carlisle, Northampton and Worcester permanently, and Canterbury and Northallerton until 1946. Another seven prisons closed between 1925 and 1931. Ipswich, Newcastle and Plymouth were discontinued, Nottingham and Portsmouth were shut only briefly, and Preston and Shepton Mallet were closed until 1948 and 1966 respectively. By the end of 1931 there were twenty-four local prisons in England and two in Wales.[132]

The closure of local prisons was a consequence of a declining prison population. The daily average number of local prisoners fell from 14,352 in 1913 to 7,938 in 1929. The reasons for the decrease included the impact of World War I, a number of social factors and changes in sentencing policy.[133] During the war, many petty offenders enlisted and, with a demand for labour at home, well-paid employment was easy to obtain. Restrictions imposed on the sale of alcohol accounted for a drop in offences related to drunkenness. During the 1920s higher wages improved living conditions and educational standards were raised. More use was made of shorter sentences and of non-custodial sentences such as probation and fines. Other institutions in addition to prison were available and the success of the borstal system helped turn many young offenders away from a life of crime.

After a prison was closed, it remained in the hands of the Prison Commissioners while its future was assessed. Where no further need could be foreseen, an order for its discontinuance was issued, often several years after it shut. Those that closed permanently were generally small and their buildings were unsuitable for modern penal requirements. Many of the prisons closed and discontinued between 1914 and 1931 were among the smallest prisons: Brecon, Carnarvon, Carmarthen, Ruthin and Plymouth, for example, all had fewer than 100 cells. Most had been erected before 1840 and altered in a piecemeal fashion subsequently, although some radial prisons, including Warwick, St Alban's and Plymouth, were also closed. The buildings of the discontinued prisons were usually offered to the county or city council and, if not purchased by them, were then put up for sale by auction. Of the fourteen English prisons that were closed permanently between 1914 and 1931, eight were re-conveyed to a local council and six were sold privately.[134] Eight of the fourteen prisons had been demolished by 1957, while the other six survived, at least in part.[135] Hereford, which closed in 1915 and was discontinued in 1923, was sold to the city council. A contractor, Eli Pearson, demolished most of the prison in 1930, but part of one building survives as a bus-station office.[136] Pearson also demolished the radial prison at Warwick, which he purchased for £5,000 in 1933.[137] Derbyshire County Council declined to buy their former county gaol and it was sold in 1929 to Sir Albert Ball for £11,200.[138] Between 1932 and 1988 the gutted prison was used as a greyhound stadium. The site has been redeveloped for housing but the gatehouse remains. York prison, which was discontinued in 1932, is now part of the Castle Museum.[139]

The late 19th and early 20th centuries saw the development of the prison system from a disparate collection of over 100 local prisons under as many jurisdictions, to a centralised system of less than 30 local institutions under central government control. The predominance of the radial prison, separate system, penal labour and a punitive, deterrent regime gave way to a more modern prison plan, improved facilities, associated productive labour and a reformative, preventative regime. The choice for courts was no longer simply between imprisonment in a local prison or penal servitude in a convict prison, as new forms of sentence and new specialist institutions became available. Not all the new types introduced after the Gladstone Committee survived but the borstal system did. It continued to expand in the mid-20th century, together with a new form of prison, the open prison.

7
New Ideals, New Problems: Prisons 1921–1963

New approaches to imprisonment in the 1920s

In 1921 and 1922 three separate surveys of the prison system were published. In 1921 the retiring Chairman of the Prison Commission, Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, published *The English Prison System* which examined the history of the system and developments since 1895.[1] It was originally written for the International Prison Congress that would have been held in London in 1915 had World War I not broken out. In 1922, *English Prisons Under Local Government* was published by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, one of eleven volumes in their series on English local government.[2] The third survey, *English Prisons Today*, was published in the same year. It differed from the other studies in its emphasis on documenting the current state of prisons and providing a list of recommended improvements. It contained the findings of a committee of inquiry originally established by the Labour Research Department, although it later became an independent body.[3] Stephen Hobhouse, the nephew of Beatrice Webb, was responsible for collating its findings but due to his failing health Fenner Brockway was asked to become joint secretary.[4] As conscientious objectors both had spent long periods in prison during World War I, experiences that gave their survey particular force.

The early 1920s also saw a profound change in the nature of the leadership of the Prison Commission. Sir Maurice Waller replaced Ruggles-Brise as Chairman in 1921 and in 1922 Alexander Paterson was appointed as a Prison Commissioner. In an addendum inserted into *English Prisons Today* the authors noted that evidence was reaching them of a new reforming zeal that was taking hold of the Prison Commission since Waller's appointment. During the 1920s and 1930s most of the deliberately dehumanising regulations of the late-Victorian penal system were removed. In 1921 the close-cropped convict haircut was abolished, the arrows on the outside of uniforms were removed and inmates being transferred between prisons were permitted to wear civilian clothes. Instead of visiting boxes, in which inmates were separated from their visitors by wire, they were now able to face each other across a table. The initial period of one month's solitary confinement was first suspended, then abolished in 1931 and new regulations regarding talking were introduced in 1922.[5] A circular published in that year set out the new rules that were to apply in all prisons. Silence had been enforced to prevent the contamination of lesser offenders by more hardened criminals, but the circular conceded that it had led to dulled minds. Conversation was to be allowed at work and at other times when appropriate, but this was not to be a licence for gossiping or familiarity. Other ameliorations of conditions included the introduction of amateur dramatics, lectures, films, radio broadcasts and from 1935 a weekly news-sheet.[6] Compulsory attendance at chapel ended in 1924 and during the inter-war years, inspired by the example of borstal institutions, more prisons established gymnasia. There was also a gradual development of educational opportunities. In 1922 voluntary teachers were introduced and by 1937 they were providing hundreds of courses.[7] The introduction of a general earnings scheme was introduced into every prison by 1933 and canteens were established to allow prisoners to purchase items for personal use.[8]

During the 1920s prisons continued to close due to the continuing decrease in the prison population. There was no need for new adult establishments but at many

Figure 7.1 (opposite) HMP Wandsworth, London. Brush workshop, 1920s. This workshop is still in use today. The brushes that it produces are used all over the Prison Service. [AA96/00853]

existing prisons new staff quarters and workshops were the priorities. At Gloucester, William Blackburn's prison was demolished to provide space for a new kitchen, laundry, hospital and workshops. The end of World War I meant that the war production work ended, but work for the General Post Office (GPO), namely producing mailbags, continued to form a large part of the employment in prisons. An increase in the size of the Government's order for brushes led to the extension of the brush workshop at Wandsworth (Fig 7.1). The other priority was the modernisation of facilities in 19th-century prisons. New boilers were installed and a gradual programme of conversion from gas to electric lighting began.

The inter-war years were the first time in the history of imprisonment that the emphasis of penal thinking shifted from the problems of adults to the possibility of training and reforming young offenders. Much of the impetus behind this was a result of the appointment of Alexander Paterson to the Prison Commission in 1922. Educated at Oxford, he graduated in 1906 and in 1908 he became involved with youths on licence from the Borstal Association. In 1911 he became Assistant Director of the Central Association for the Aid of Discharged Prisoners, an appointment that required him to visit prisons regularly to interview men before release. With the outbreak of World War I he volunteered as a private, though he rose to the rank of captain and was awarded the MC. After leaving the Army he worked for the Ministry of Labour until he joined the Prison Commission. He retired at the end of 1946 and died on 7 November 1947. During his twenty-five years he had the opportunity to become the Chairman of the Commission but instead chose to remain as the Vice-Chairman.

Paterson was an inspiring figure whose belief in Christianity and the English public-school system combined to offer a new vision of imprisonment. He believed that prisons should not be simply a 'cloakroom' or 'kennel' but instead should have a positive impact on an offender's behaviour.[9] An inmate's personality should be developed by imprisonment through an active daily programme that included both physical and mental stimulation, as well as 'humanizing and socializing influences'.[10] To achieve this he began by developing the borstal system through the introduction of ideas from public schools. The esprit de corps of borstals was to be fostered by housemasters who would provide leadership tempered with understanding. He hoped that prisons would be abolished and replaced by three specialised institutions. Examination centres would house remand prisoners, who would be examined by psychiatrists, psychologists and social inquirers. They would diagnose the causes of the offending behaviour and report to the courts. If the prisoner was convicted the reports would be used for classifying him and determining where he would be sent. Training centres would be established with the aim of altering the habits and character of offenders, while places of detention would be created for those whose sentences were too short for training and for recidivists. Women would no longer be sent to prison but would be treated in cottage reformatories. Paterson also believed that many prisoners could be held in open conditions. He believed that prisoners nearing the end of their sentence and others who recognised that it was a good opportunity to demonstrate their readiness for release would be suitable for an open prison. Inmates who were 'so dull and lethargic as to be immune against the fever of freedom' and 'men of respectable antecedents' who would not wish to bring further disgrace upon family and friends by escaping, would also be suitable.[11] Paterson envisaged that these new open institutions would be hutted camps from where the inmates would carry out land reclamation, forest clearing and road building.

Open borstals and prisons

The first open prison was probably Witzwil in Switzerland, which opened in 1891. In the USA, the open Lorton Reformatory in the District of Columbia opened in 1916.[12] In 1930 Alfred Hopkins published *Prisons and Prison Building*, in which he questioned why a prison for 2,000 inmates should be built with a 30-foot-high (9.1m) wall when 1,800 of the inmates would not abscond even if there was no wall.[13] By January 1929 the Prison Commission recognised the need to create a purpose-built borstal institution, as the existing ones were in former convict prisons (Borstal and Portland) and in an industrial school (Feltham).[14] A 340-acre (138-hectare) site was acquired at

21
20
19

Figure 7.2
HMP North Sea Camp, Lincolnshire. Hut. 1935. This is one of the original huts built by the inmates behind the 'Roman Bank' sea defences.
[AA97/01422]

Lowdham Grange (Nottinghamshire) and during the winter of 1929–30 a group of boys gathered at Feltham. On 4 May 1930 a party of forty boys, headed by Major William W Llewellin, began the 132-mile (212-km) march from Feltham.[15] During their first summer the boys and staff lived in tents while temporary wooden huts were built. During the 1930s the permanent accommodation was erected. This consisted of a central administration block, which also contained classrooms, a kitchen and stores along with five accommodation blocks, one of which served as a reception and discharge unit. The first house was completed in 1933 and was ceremonially opened on 23 June 1934.[16] The prison was completed in the late 1940s.

Major Llewellin led another group of about twenty young offenders from the prison at Stafford on a march to the Lincolnshire coast in May 1935 to establish North Sea Camp (Fig 7.2). They began their journey on 23 May 1935 and arrived at the mouth of the River Witham, south of Freiston, on 31 May.[17] The boys lived in tents while they built new hutted accommodation for the borstal to the north and west of an existing sea bank, the 'Roman bank'. All the prison's land on the sea side of this bank has been reclaimed by the inmates. The aim in 1937 was to reclaim 600 acres (243 hectares) of saltmarsh, so that land purchased by the Prison Commissioners at £3 per acre would be worth £100 an acre when reclaimed.[18] Over 28 miles (45km) of dykes have been constructed and nearly 1,000 acres (405 hectares) of saltmarsh have been reclaimed for farmland.[19]

Hollesley Bay Colony (Suffolk) was founded in 1887 as an agricultural college for young men who were to work abroad in British colonies and in 1905 it had become a training centre for unemployed people from London (Fig 7.3). It opened as a third open borstal in 1938. The colonial school building is two-storeyed, constructed of red brick in an Arts and Crafts style with a tile-hung first floor. Called St George's House, it contains the administration and the health care centre. The accommodation, central common services, workshops and garden buildings are grouped around the administration building. Accommodation was originally provided in single-storey blocks with concrete frames and brick walls.[20] These have been demolished and new two-storey house blocks of brick were erected in the early 1970s.

Open conditions originally were not felt to be appropriate for adults, but the 1931 Departmental Committee Inquiry into the Treatment of Persistent Offenders recommended that experiments with 'labour camps' and 'minimum security structures' should take place.[21] In 1932 a small group of inmates from Wakefield had worked during the day on Viscount Allendale's nearby estate but after this brief arrangement lapsed the Prison Commission decided to purchase a part of the New Hall Wood.[22] On 20 February 1934 a scheme to lease the whole wood was proposed and by 10 March 1934 the desire to establish a camp of Wakefield inmates was discussed. The existing farm buildings were judged to be unsuitable for conversion and new huts were to be built instead. By 24 August 1935 a small camp for fifty inmates had been established in the wood for use during the week, which the Governor of Wakefield prison wanted to maintain on a permanent footing. Several wooden buildings formerly comprising the officers' quarters at HMP Leeds were reused and the first hut had been built by 18 November 1935 (Fig 7.4).[23] On 20 March 1936 the site was officially declared a prison, although administratively it was treated as a satellite of Wakefield. Three timber huts survive and two retain their open plan and simple plank king-post roofs.

New ideas in the 1930s

The innovations in the 1930s were not confined to the development of open prisons but the implementation of many of the ideas that were evolving was delayed by the outbreak of war in 1939. The nucleus of a hutted camp that was to be established in Dorset was abandoned and negotiations for land near Maidstone for clearing and cultivation ceased.[24] Lilian Barker, the Prison Commission's first female Assistant Commissioner, proposed another scheme, which failed to materialise, in 1938.[25] She advocated the construction of a new female prison at Stanwell (Surrey) to replace Holloway. The latter would then house male prisoners, allowing Pentonville to be demolished. Stanwell was to be a new type of establishment. Prisoners were to be housed in a series of semi-detached houses that would each hold twenty-five women. Each house would have its own kitchen and matron, and the inmates would share a chapel, library and workrooms. The site would also include a borstal for girls, who would be held separately from adults. No prison has ever been built on this model, but the children's home at Styal (Cheshire), which became a female prison in 1962, has this type of layout. Despite the impending threat of war the Prison Commission purchased Stanhope Farm at Stanwell on 3 August 1939.

Figure 7.3
HMP and YOI Hollesley Bay Colony, Suffolk. Main building. Opened as a borstal in 1938. This long building contains the administration, offices and other facilities. Inmates now live in purpose-built blocks behind the main building. [AA96/05873]

Figure 7.4
HMP and YOI New Hall, West Yorkshire. Hut. 1935–6. This is one of the original huts transferred from Leeds, which are now used as workshops and stores. [AA95/05823]

The outbreak of war meant that the new female prison was never built and the site is now part of Heathrow Airport. It also meant that the proposed reform of the prison system embodied in the 1938 Criminal Justice Bill was postponed.[26] In 1931 a departmental committee chaired by Sir John C Dove-Wilson was established to inquire into the treatment of persistent offenders.[27] It recommended creating two new types of sentences in place of a prison sentence and penal servitude. The shorter would last between two and four years while a prolonged detention sentence of between five and ten years would be established for more habitual offenders. Both sentences would provide positive, progressive training systems to prepare an inmate for outside life. The committee also recommended that reports about the mental and physical condition of an offender should be prepared before they were sentenced and that trials of labour camps and minimum-security prisons should be implemented.

The recommendations regarding the new types of sentences were incorporated in the 1938 bill along with a series of measures for dealing with young offenders. Remand centres were to be established for remand offenders aged between 14 and 23, state remand homes were to be created to detain those under 17 and 'Howard Homes' were to be created as disciplinary centres for boys aged between 16 and 21. In these last institutions boys could be detained for up to six months but they were to be allowed out to work. Compulsory attendance centres were to be established for minor offenders. The bill also contained provisions for abolishing corporal punishment as a sentence that could be passed by a court, although it was retained as the punishment for mutiny, attempted mutiny and injuring an officer. Prolonged debate about corporal punishment delayed the passage of the bill, which was abandoned when the outbreak of war became imminent. However, most of the provisions in the failed bill were revived in the 1948 Criminal Justice Act.

By the 1930s there was a growing interest in understanding and treating the psychological causes of offending behaviour, although this idea had first been raised before World War I. In 1913 the Mental Deficiency Act allowed mentally disordered offenders to be sent to hospitals and in the same year Dr Charles Goring published his research into the innate defects of prisoners.[28] Between the wars the debates centred around the impact of heredity and environment and whether eugenics should be practised. William Norwood East was appointed as Medical Commissioner of the Prison Commission in 1929 and under his influence the Commission resisted eugenics.[29] Instead in 1934 a study on the psychological treatment of offenders was instituted at Wormwood Scrubs under East and a part-time psychotherapist, Dr W H de B Hubert.[30] Their findings, published in 1939, recognised that psychological approaches could produce positive results for some offenders. To carry this out they recommended that a special institution for 300 inmates should be founded. It was to have easy access to London, but was to be on a site large enough for a wide range of agricultural and recreational activities. It was also to provide vocational training and employment, both within the institution and in the communities around. The outbreak of war led to a suspension of the Wormwood Scrubs experiment but it resumed in February 1943. After the war the creation of the so-called 'East-Hubert' Institution was recognised as a priority for the Prison Commission but it was not to be realised until the opening of HMP Grendon in Buckinghamshire in 1962.[31]

While the Wormwood Scrubs study was in progress, an experiment in 'democratic living' was established in Essex.[32] In 1936 Q Camp in Essex opened for a small group of male offenders aged between 16½ and 25 who had moderate behavioural problems.

The camp aimed to study and treat their antisocial behaviour using a range of techniques, including psychotherapy. Each member of the camp had a role in its government and this idea of 'shared responsibility' is now a major feature of the community at HMP Grendon. The Q Camp closed in 1940.

Prisons during World War II

The outbreak of World War II delayed the evolution of penal policy and forced the Prison Commission to institute a series of emergency measures. Air-raid precautions were undertaken, a process simplified by the robust construction of the prison buildings. It was felt that, apart from those on the top floors, inmates were safest in their cells although being locked in was a terrifying experience. All adult prisoners with less than three months to serve and all borstal inmates with less than six months remaining, a total of 5,624, were immediately discharged.[33] In three days more than 2,000 inmates were moved to new locations and several prisons were partially or totally closed. Wormwood Scrubs and Pentonville were emptied while partial evacuations took place at Birmingham, Brixton, Hull, Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester. As the war progressed prisons opened and closed as the character and size of the population varied and when prisons were damaged by enemy action. Pentonville was bombed on four separate occasions, with the attacks on 10–11 May 1941 killing seventeen people and leading to the closure of the prison and the reopening of Wormwood Scrubs. Other London prisons were also damaged and Liverpool, which was hit on a number of occasions during 1940 and 1941, suffered major damage to the west end of the prison. The site of the bomb-damaged wings is still evident today. Attacks became more infrequent as the war progressed but as late as 7 March 1945 a V2 destroyed the deputy governor's house and some staff quarters at Wandsworth.[34] Several buildings inside the prison were also severely damaged. In the inter-war years productive labour had been an essential part of the prison regime and during the war prisons made a major contribution to the war effort. Between April 1939 and March 1943, 16 million items were produced for government departments and the armed services.[35] The cultivation of 5,000 acres

Figure 7.5
HMP Sudbury, Derbyshire. Dormitory, 1942. Opened as a prison in 1948. The concrete-framed huts of the US Army hospital are still in use as dormitories. [AA96/05669]

(2,024 hectares) of land meant that the prisons could supply their own vegetables and 8,200 head of cattle together with 2,400 tons of fruit and 1,600 tons of sugar beet (2,438 and 1,627 tonnes respectively) were contributed to the general war effort. Prisoners also undertook road building and manufacturing parts for military equipment.

Post-World War II reforms

In its 1945 report the Prison Commission signalled its intention to continue many of the developments of the pre-war period. It reiterated its commitment to the main aspects of the 1938 Criminal Justice Bill and pledged to continue with training as the central theme of the system for imprisoning adults.[36] It was hoped that in the future this would be implemented through the construction of new purpose-built institutions, though it was realised that building could not take place immediately in the post-war economic climate. The legislative vehicle for the reforms was the Criminal Justice Act 1948.[37] It abolished penal servitude and hard labour, and introduced the power to make probation orders. It also included provisions similar to those proposed in 1938 concerning persistent offenders and those under 21 years of age. The older sentence of preventive detention was replaced by two sentences. Offenders aged over 21 years who had been convicted twice since the age of 17, could receive a sentence of corrective training if they were convicted of an offence attracting a sentence of more than two years. Most of the sentence was to be served at selected local prisons or at training prisons. An allocation centre was established at Reading where a prisoner was observed in an attempt to determine why he was an habitual offender and to establish whether he should be sent to an open or

Figure 7.6
HMP Ford, West Sussex. B wing. 1936–7. Opened as a prison in 1960. The huts formed the original accommodation beside the airfield. Most have been subdivided into individual bedrooms in recent years. [AA95/04598]

closed training prison, or to a corrective training prison.[38] The new preventive detention sentence was for offenders aged under 30 who had been convicted of three previous offences and this sentence ranged from five to fourteen years. It was to be served in three distinct stages. A period of up to two years was to be spent in a local prison for observation, so that the prisoner could understand that progress depended on good behaviour.[39] This was followed by the main part of the sentence, which was served at a central prison. During the last year of the sentence inmates were prepared for release, undergoing vocational training; on their release on conditional licence, normally after five-sixths of their sentence, they were monitored by the Central After-Care Association. In 1953 a hostel scheme was introduced at Bristol for preventive detainees during their third stage that allowed them to work outside by day but sleep in the prison at night.[40] By the 1960s there were hostels at sixteen prisons but a number closed in the aftermath of the publication of the Mountbatten Report in 1967 (*see* Chapter 8).

The 1948 Act also introduced fundamental reforms of the system for young offenders. No one under the age of 21 was to be sent to prison unless there was no alternative and instead a range of new penal options was created. Borstal training was now to be provided for those aged 16 to 21 who would benefit from it, but offenders aged from 14 to 21 could be sent to a detention centre if they were serving a sentence of less than three months and had not committed a previous offence. Remand centres were created for those on remand and awaiting sentencing, while attendance centres were established for offenders aged between 12 and 21 years of age who had breached a probation order.[41]

The reform of the regime that had begun in the 1920s and 1930s continued into the 1950s. After World War II the rising prison population and the absence of war production meant that by the mid-1950s the length of the working week had declined to 26 hours.[42] However, there was a growing use of vocational training courses and improved educational provisions were made. In 1944 the Local Education Committee designated Durham prison as an evening institute and provided classes that had become a full curriculum by the end of the year. The Ministry of Education encouraged the establishment of an evening institute in each prison and by the end of 1951, 781 classes for men and 196 for women were provided weekly. In 1946 a Director of Education and Welfare was appointed to the Prison Commission and in 1947 the University of London permitted inmates to enter for matriculation, intermediate and degree courses.[43]

The most important reform in the 1950s was based on the Norwich Experiment, which was instituted in 1956 and rapidly spread throughout the prison system.[44] It introduced dining in association, increased working hours to 35 hours per week and extended the amount of time inmates spent out of their cells in association. It also allowed staff and inmates to enjoy a more relaxed relationship. A member of staff was given responsibility for sixteen designated inmates, and staff in workshops were allowed to descend from their platforms to converse with inmates. The last vestiges of the Victorian separate system were swept away, resulting in a marked drop in tension and a more relaxed and constructive atmosphere.[45]

Post-World War II prisons

Many of the good intentions envisaged in the 1930s were realised in the 1950s but much of the reform programme was undermined by a new post-war phenomenon: the rapidly rising prison population. Between the wars the daily average population was between 10,000 and 13,000, reaching a low of 9,377 in 1940. After 1940 it rose almost continually, reaching 20,000 by 1950 and 30,000 by 1962. At the end of the war the Prison Commission took immediate action. The difficulties of the post-war economy meant that new purpose-built prisons could not be afforded and therefore sites that would serve as short-term measures were sought. Several prisons that had closed before the war were reopened. Northallerton and Canterbury, which had closed in 1922, partially reopened in 1946.[46] Reading opened in the same year after being closed for more than thirty years. In 1948 Portsmouth and Preston reopened while Hull, which had closed in 1940, was repaired and brought back into use in 1949.[47] Most of the other prisons that had closed during the inter-war years had been disposed of by the Prison Commission and therefore it had to look to other accommodation for the rising numbers of inmates.

Figure 7.7
HMP Haverigg, Cumbria. General view of huts, built in World War II. Opened as a prison in 1967. [BB97/06406]

Figure 7.8
HMP Highpoint, Suffolk. Female blocks. Built in 1930s. Opened as a prison in 1977. These blocks were officers' accommodation for the nearby airfield. The male part of Highpoint is built on the site of the airfield and also reuses some substantial brick buildings. [BB98/01385]

Figure 7.9
HMP Ford, West Sussex. Exterior of A wing, former petty officers' block. 1957–8. Opened as a prison in 1960. These accommodation blocks, reminiscent of a university hall of residence, were built less than three years before the airfield closed and were easily converted to provide good-quality prison accommodation. [AA95/04589]

The cessation of hostilities meant that much of the huge military infrastructure that had developed during the previous decade was suddenly redundant. The Prison Commission therefore began to take over a number of these sites, and today twenty-seven prisons still occupy buildings that had been used by the military. Most new prisons were housed in hutted camps that had been built during the war for a variety of purposes. Sudbury (Derbyshire), which opened as an open training prison for men in 1948, occupies the site and many buildings of a US military hospital built in 1942 (Fig 7.5).[48] Leyhill (Gloucestershire), the first independent open adult prison in England, which opened in July 1946, also occupied the huts of a former US Army hospital.[49] HMP Drake Hall (Staffordshire), which opened in 1957–8, was one of eight hostels built in 1941 to house up to 1,000 munitions workers working in a nearby factory. Huntercombe (Oxfordshire) and Latchmere House (Greater London) had both been used for interrogating German prisoners.

Some of the new prisons were also located in camps providing naval support (Risley and Wetherby) while five were in buildings beside airfields. The site of Standford Hill (Kent) was leased in 1909 by Sir Francis McClean to the Aero Club, which became the Royal Aero Club in 1910. In 1911 the first Royal Navy Air Service station was established there. The airfield was used by the Royal Flying Corps during World War I and during World War II it served as a fighter station and then as an RAF intelligence and debriefing centre. On Christmas *Day 1949 the Prison Commissioners* acquired it for use as an open prison.[50] Ford (West Sussex) was also the site of a camp for the Royal Flying Corps that opened in early 1918 and was decommissioned in 1920 (Fig 7.6).[51] In the early 1930s it was used as a commercial airfield but in 1936 the Air Ministry spent £109,000 on a new hutted camp and RAF Ford opened on 1 December 1937. In 1948 it closed for refurbishment and reopened as RNAS Ford in March 1950. Another refurbishment took place in 1956 with the present A-wing buildings being built in 1957–8 as petty officers' quarters. However, the site was closed on 13 November 1958, and was acquired by the Prison Commission in 1960. Airfields continued to be taken over in the 1960s and 1970s to provide additional accommodation. Haverigg (Cumbria) opened on the site of RAF Millom in 1967, while Highpoint (Suffolk) opened at RAF Stradishall in 1977 (Figs 7.7 and 7.8). Lindholme (South Yorkshire), which opened in November 1985, is the latest prison to occupy the former buildings of an airfield.

Nine of the prisons in former military buildings are open prisons while the other establishments require only security for Category C (*see* Chapter 8) offenders. Some prisons have retained some of the original huts with only limited refurbishment, as at Sudbury or Haverigg, but new communal facilities have been provided. At Ford the structure of the huts in the camp has been retained but the cladding and internal layout have been replaced. At Drake Hall the original H-plan blocks are currently being replaced by modern purpose-built single-storeyed units containing single bedrooms. Leyhill is at the other end of the spectrum. It has retained a few huts that perform ancillary functions but the living accommodation has been rebuilt in a style and layout reminiscent of a university campus. Some military sites have more substantial surviving buildings. The airfield buildings at Highpoint and Lindholme are large brick buildings while A wing at Ford is the substantial brick buildings erected as petty officers' accommodation in 1957–8, only three years before the site became a prison (Fig 7.9). All these adapted prisons required a more communal style of living than the more

Figure 7.10
HMP The Verne, Dorset. Casemates and wing. 1860s and 1972–5. The casemates of the fort provide a variety of facilities and accommodation, while the fortifications, designed to prevent people getting in, now stop inmates escaping. [AA97/01791]

Figure 7.11
HMP Hewell Grange, Worcestershire. General view of house. 1884–91. Thomas Garner and G F Bodley. Bedford Lemere photographed this grand house in the 1890s. Most of the original interior fittings have survived, although plastic chairs and bunk beds have replaced the grand furnishings. [BB95/17403]

secure purpose-built prisons. The huts in camps usually housed open dormitories, which have generally been subdivided into single rooms. However, some have remained as single dormitories and others have been subdivided into cubicles, to provide some privacy. The communal nature of life on these sites would have been inconceivable before the advent of open borstals in the 1930s.

In addition to 20th-century military sites, the pressure to provide places led to the Prison Commission taking over two Victorian forts and an army barracks. The Verne on the Isle of Portland (Dorset) occupies a fort built in the 1860s (Fig 7.10).[52] It was designed by Captain Crossman of the Royal Engineers and was built partly by convict labour from Portland Convict Prison. The fortress covers an area of 50 acres (20.2 hectares) and originally provided accommodation for 1,000 soldiers. In 1903 it became an infantry barracks and after 1937 it served as an infantry training centre. In January 1949 it was acquired by the Prison Commissioners. Her Majesty's Youth Offenders Institution (HMYOI) Dover is in a fort known as the 'Citadel', which dates from the 1860s. The casemates around the fort are used as stores, workshops, and a gymnasium. The one-storey brick buildings in the area to the south-east of the fort bear the date 1890. These are now used as workshops and education facilities but were probably barracks for troops manning the Citadel. The Prison Commissioners took it over in 1952 and by 1956 the necessary adaptations were completed.[53] Dover and the Verne were part of the elaborate coastal fortifications built or started under Lord Palmerston between 1860 and 1867 as defences against invasion by France.[54]

Haslar Holding Centre (Hampshire), which opened as a detention centre in July 1962, was built in 1864 to provide barracks accommodation for soldiers guarding the adjacent military hospital.

During World War II country houses were taken over by the military authorities and a number of those that did not revert to their original owners were acquired by the Prison Commission. Hewell Grange (Worcestershire), Gaynes Hall (Cambridgeshire) and East Sutton Park (Kent) opened as borstals in 1946 while Askham Grange (North Yorkshire) opened in the same year as an adult-female training prison. Of these only Gaynes Hall is no longer used as a prison. Hewell Grange is the grandest house still to be in the ownership of the Prison Service (Figs 7.11 and 7.12). It was built between 1884 and 1891 for Robert George Windsor-Clive, Lord Windsor, later Earl of Plymouth, to the designs of Thomas Garner and G F Bodley, with formal gardens laid out by Andrew Pettigrew.[55] Within the grounds of the estate are the remains of an earlier house, built for the second Earl of Plymouth in 1711 by William and Francis Smith of Warwick and partially destroyed in 1889.[56] Hewell Grange remained in the hands of the Windsor family until 1946, but was occupied by the Royal Army Ordnance Corps during World War II. The main part of East Sutton Park dates from the late 16th century, and the hall has a carved wooden screen dated 1570 (Fig 7.13). In the 1830s an extensive building campaign was carried out, including the addition of a service wing. The architect of this phase is said to be C J Richardson.[57] He was probably also responsible for the riding school, stockyard, pigsties, and deer house to the east of the house. In 1939 the house was requisitioned by the Army and occupied by the Royal Artillery. Askham Grange was built in 1886 for Sir Andrew Fairbairn by Chorley and Connan Architects from Leeds. Fairbairn Wales added a large extension to the house in 1912.

Country houses continued to be taken over after the immediate post-war years. Grendon Hall (Buckinghamshire), built in 1882, and its adjacent hutted wartime camp were taken over by the Prison Commission in 1953. It is known as HMP Spring Hill with HMP Grendon being built on some of the land that was acquired along with the house. Erlestoke House (Wiltshire), built 1786–91 to designs by George Stewart, opened as a detention centre in 1962. A fire in 1950 destroyed the centre of the house but the wings survive. In addition to acquiring houses from the military, the Prison Commission also purchased several from civil authorities or private owners. HMP Everthorpe was built on part of the estate of Everthorpe Hall (East Riding of Yorkshire), a house designed in about 1870 by Smith and Brodrick.[58] The house is now used as a staff mess. Foston Hall (Derbyshire) is a red brick, Jacobean-style house built in 1863 by Thomas Chambers Hine (Fig 7.14).[59] The Prison Commissioners acquired the house from the county council in 1954 and after conversion work it opened as a junior detention centre for boys in December 1955.[60] The Prison Commission also took over Kirklevington Grange (Cleveland) in 1959 to serve as a junior detention centre and it opened in

Figure 7.12
HMP Hewell Grange, Worcestershire. Door of governor's office. 1884–91. Thomas Garner and G F Bodley. [AA95/06532]

Figure 7.13
HMP and YOI East Sutton Park, Kent. Dining hall. This 16th-century house underwent major extensions during the 19th century. Many of the original interior detailing has survived. [AA96/03997]

May 1963.[81] It is unusual because the house itself, dated 1898 by its rainwater heads, provides little of the prison facilities apart from offices, education facilities and some dormitories. Most of the accommodation is in cell blocks added to the side of the house in 1976.[82] At HMP Spring Hill the inmate accommodation is in the hutted camp beside the house. However, in the other country-house prisons most inmates are housed in dormitories occupying the rooms on the upper floors of the house, although at Hewell Grange some of the larger rooms have been subdivided into individual cubicles. The sleeping accommodation is relatively basic in these prisons but the association rooms, dining areas and educational facilities are often located in the grandest surviving rooms. After a lengthy prison sentence in conventional 'bang up' prisons, it often proves difficult for inmates to adjust to the freedom and the grand surroundings of these prisons.

Figure 7.14 (left) HMP Foston Hall, Derbyshire. General view of house. 1863. Thomas Chambers Hine. Opened as a junior detention centre in 1955. The house contains the offices as well as some dormitories. [AA96/05632]

Figure 7.15 (below) Finnamore Wood Camp, Buckinghamshire. General view. 1940. Opened as a prison in 1961, closed 1996. Built to accommodate children being evacuated from London during World War II, the huts resemble a holiday camp. [AA98/00395]

The 1948 Criminal Justice Act created the detention centre and during the 1950s the Prison Commission searched for appropriate sites for these. A number of the country houses were acquired for this function and some existing prisons were converted. However, it may have been the need to provide accommodation for this new type of prison that prompted the examination of sites which had been used as children's homes, workhouses and industrial schools. In April 1954 Blantyre House (Kent) opened in buildings that were erected between 1911 and 1914 as a farm training school for boys.[43] Another detention centre opened in a children's home at Medomsley in County Durham in 1960.[44] In 1961 Finnamore Wood (Buckinghamshire) opened as a satellite of the borstal at Feltham (Fig 7.15).[45] It consists of four huts that contain lines of small rooms flanking a central corridor. The washroom was communal and was in a separate block behind the dormitories. Other facilities were in huts between the dormitories and main entrance. It was originally built during World War II as a home for children being evacuated from London during the Blitz. It closed in May 1996.[46] Campsfield House (Oxfordshire), which was originally a workhouse and is now a privately managed

Figure 7.16
HMYOI Werrington House, Staffordshire. Dormitory. Opened as an industrial school in 1895. Opened as a prison in April 1957. The main living accommodation was in the attics of the school although new wings have recently been added at the rear of the site. [AA97/01741]

immigration centre, opened as a detention centre in July 1952.[67] Werrington House (Staffordshire), built as an industrial school in 1895, was purchased by the Prison Commission in 1955, with the first inmates arriving in April 1957.[68] Most of the inmate accommodation and facilities are housed in the original industrial school. The ground floor of the school is used for offices, education and other facilities while inmates are housed in dormitories on the upper floor (Fig 7.16).

One adult female prison, HMP Styal, originated as a children's home (Figs 7.17, 7.18 and 7.19). Chorlton Union Workhouse and Infirmary (Lancashire) opened in 1855 but by the 1890s it was felt that children and babies should be housed separately.[69] In 1894 the Chorlton Board of Guardians established a subcommittee to discuss the foundation of a cottage colony and a site was chosen near Quarry Bank Mill. A loan of £50,000 by the Liverpool Corporation allowed the site to be developed and the first stone was ceremonially laid on 31 August 1896. The colony opened in 1898 but further cottages were needed. An extra six were in use by 27 October 1903 and in 1927 a further extension was built to rehouse 200 children from the Swinton industrial schools. These are probably the buildings to the north of the main complex, which are not part of the prison today. On 5 March 1915 the foundation stone of the church at the east side of the site was laid and the completed church was dedicated on 30 November 1915 by the Bishop of Chester. The colony closed on 20 July 1956 and the site remained empty until 30 December 1956, when refugees from the Hungarian uprising were housed on the site. They remained there until 30 September 1959 and on 23 May 1960 the Prison Commission took over the site. The prison opened for female inmates on 24 October 1962.

The pressure on places has been continuous since the end of World War II and the Prison Service in recent years has continued to employ lateral thinking in the search for new prisons. HMP Downview (Surrey) opened in June 1989 on part of the site of the former lunatic asylum at Banstead and many of the buildings are former asylum buildings (Fig 7.20).[70] The main inmate accommodation is the former nurses' home, which was built between the wars. In 1997 the idea of adapting a former holiday camp, Middleton Towers near Heysham in Lancashire, provoked local concern and the project has not yet been pursued.

Figure 7.17 (left)
HMP and YOI Styal, Cheshire. 1896–8. Opened as a prison in 1962. The blocks were designed as semi-detached houses. The inmates occupying each half have a large measure of independence.
[AA96/02568]

Figure 7.18 (below)
HMP and YOI Styal, Cheshire. 1896–8. Opened as a prison in 1962. This larger block now contains the mother-and-baby unit.
[AA96/02569]

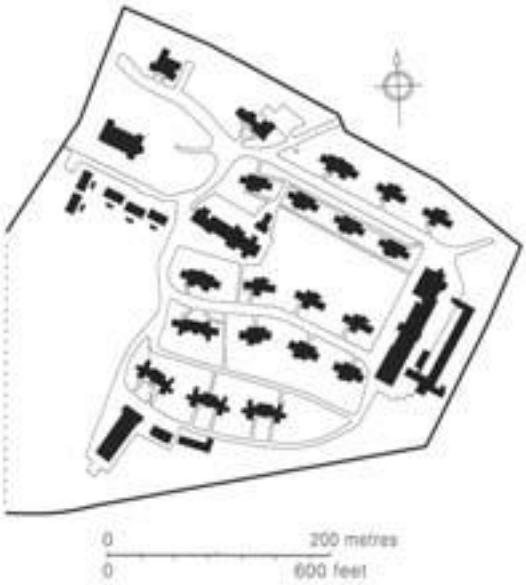


Figure 7.19
HMP and YOI Styal, Cheshire. Block plan, 1896–8.

The need for purpose-built prisons

Adapting former military sites, childrens' homes and country houses was an adequate short-term solution to the problem of creating low-security prisons but the Prison Commission also recognised the need for new purpose-built secure prisons. In its 1945 report it identified the need to construct two borstals, one for each sex.[71] One or two central female prisons and a male training prison were also required and an experimental 'psychopathic' prison hospital, the so-called 'East-Hubert' institution would also be created. By 1947 it was hoped that the opening of these new institutions would allow the closure of Dartmoor when the lease of the site from the Duchy of Cornwall expired in 1949.[72] Sites for the new prisons were gradually identified. Consideration was given to locating the psychiatric prison at Aylesbury or Rochester but it was only in 1955 that the site was finalised, beside the prison that had opened at Grendon Hall. In 1947 the two new borstals were to be located north of the River Trent, but by 1950 the proposed building programme had expanded to include another two borstals. In 1947, it was agreed that the male training prison should be in the York area and by 1950 a site had been identified at North Cave. In October 1950 the Treasury approved the prison building programme, which now contained proposals for two training prisons each containing 300 inmates, two girls' borstals holding 100 inmates, two boys' borstals for 150 prisoners and the psychiatric hospital, which would house up to 300 inmates.

A 'tentative layout' for a secure training prison holding 300 men was published in the 1950 Report of the Prison Commission and although the site was unnamed it is clearly an early draft of the scheme for the North Cave site, which is now HMP Everthorpe.[73] Inmate accommodation consists of two long wings each divided into two parts holding

Figure 7.20
HMP Downview, Surrey. Former nurses' home. Opened as a prison in 1989. The main inmate accommodation is this former nurses' home although an RTU unit has recently been added. [BB98/01396]

seventy-five inmates (Figs 7.21 and 7.22). Each block has three storeys of cells opening from landings flanking an open corridor (Fig 7.23). It is top-lit by glass bricks set into the shallow, concrete, barrel-vaulted ceiling. The cells were originally to be similar in size to those of the mid-19th century, being 13ft by 8ft 6in. by 9ft (4.0 × 2.6 × 2.7m), but the size of the cells was later reduced. The wings are linked to a central amenities complex by a single-storeyed secure corridor, with a separate industrial area at the rear of the site. The reception unit, visits room, stores and a hospital are also independent of the main accommodation of the prison. An open-air swimming-pool was included in the middle of the prison in the 1950 report, but this was finally built in a compound to the north of the site.

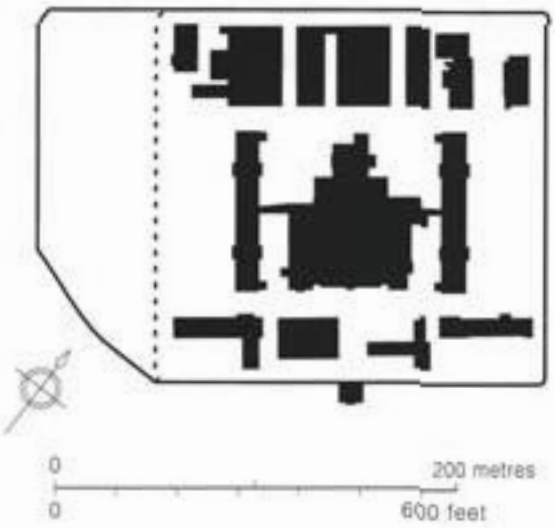


Figure 7.21
HMP Everthorpe, East Riding of Yorkshire. Block plan. 1956–8.

The North Cave site, the estate of Everthorpe Hall, was acquired in 1953 and it was hoped that the construction of the new prison could begin in the same year. In 1954 the first contract for infrastructure work was signed and the perimeter walls were completed during 1955. The foundation stone was laid on 21 April 1956 and the prison opened in June 1958.[74] The buildings were designed by architects from the Ministry of Works and the Prison Commission, who followed closely the scheme outlined in 1950. The key features of Everthorpe are the use of cells without in-cell sanitation on wings with open landings, similar in form and function to Victorian wings, and the idea of a central amenities complex linked to the wings. The latter feature was adopted by later architects with little comment, but the form of the cell blocks proved to be highly controversial. In the *Architect's Journal* in December 1958 an 'anonymous architect and student of penology' was highly critical of the retention of the practice of slopping out.[75] The 1959 White Paper *Penal Practice in a Changing Society* stated that 'the present buildings stand as a monumental denial of the

Figure 7.22
HMP Everthorpe, East Riding of Yorkshire. General view of wing. 1956–8. The 300 inmates were housed in two wings that were each split in half. Each wing was attached to a central group of facilities. [AA96/06049]

principles to which we are committed'.[76] A W Peterson, Chairman of the Prison Commission, writing in 1961 stated that:

> As cells in the new prisons will be used only as sleeping accommodation, it is no longer necessary that they should be arranged in long wings, sometimes four or five storeys high, which can be observed from the centre of the prison. This arrangement, which is the standard plan of the Victorian prison, creates a very gloomy impression and makes it difficult to provide efficient heating, lighting and ventilation. Noises and smells penetrate to every quarter of the prison.[77]

However, before the new type of prison could be developed, some of the schemes mooted in the late 1940s and early 1950s were already in progress. Plans for the East-Hubert Hospital at Grendon had been drawn up by 1956, when they were published in *The Builder*.[78] All the buildings, except the reception, stores, visits and workshops, were connected by long corridors to an administration, chapel, hospital and assembly block at the front of the site. The wings were to have the cells flanking an open corridor and the male holding block was Y-shaped. When Grendon was actually built, between 1959 and 1962, the cell blocks were floored and the Y-plan wing was replaced by a pair of wings flanking the main corridor (Fig 7.24).[79] Although the Y-plan was abandoned it was used for the wings at the borstal at Swinfen Hall (Staffordshire) and was revived for two wings at HMYOI Portland that were built in the early 1970s, though these were probably a result of a restricted site (Figs 7.25 and 7.26).[80] Although the open landings were abandoned at Grendon they were employed in two contemporary prisons. At HMP Hull the original west wing, which was destroyed by a bomb during World War II, was rebuilt between 1958 and 1960.[81] It has four storeys and is sixteen bays long with open landings with cells measuring approximately 10ft 6in. by 7ft 6in. by 8ft high (3.2 × 2.3 × 2.4m). The small female borstal, now HMP and YOI Bullwood Hall (Essex), was the last prison for almost twenty-five years to employ an open corridor with cells reached from galleries (Fig 7.27).[82]

While Hull and Bullwood Hall were in progress a series of fundamental changes occurred as a direct result of the vociferous criticism that Everthorpe attracted. The White Paper published in February 1959 provided a summary of the improvements made during the 1950s and highlighted the problems that still faced the prison system. It recognised that progress had been made

Figure 7.23 (opposite) HMP Everthorpe, East Riding of Yorkshire. Interior of wing. 1956–8. The wings had open landings with the cells on the upper floors being reached from galleries. Their form is clearly based on Victorian prisons as there were no alternative models to employ. [AA96/06031]

Figure 7.24 (below) HMP Grendon, Buckinghamshire. General view of wing. 1959–62. This stark, flat-roofed block is one of two large wings that provide most of the accommodation. It is perhaps surprising that such a brutal building should have been designed as a therapeutic facility. [BB96/08949]

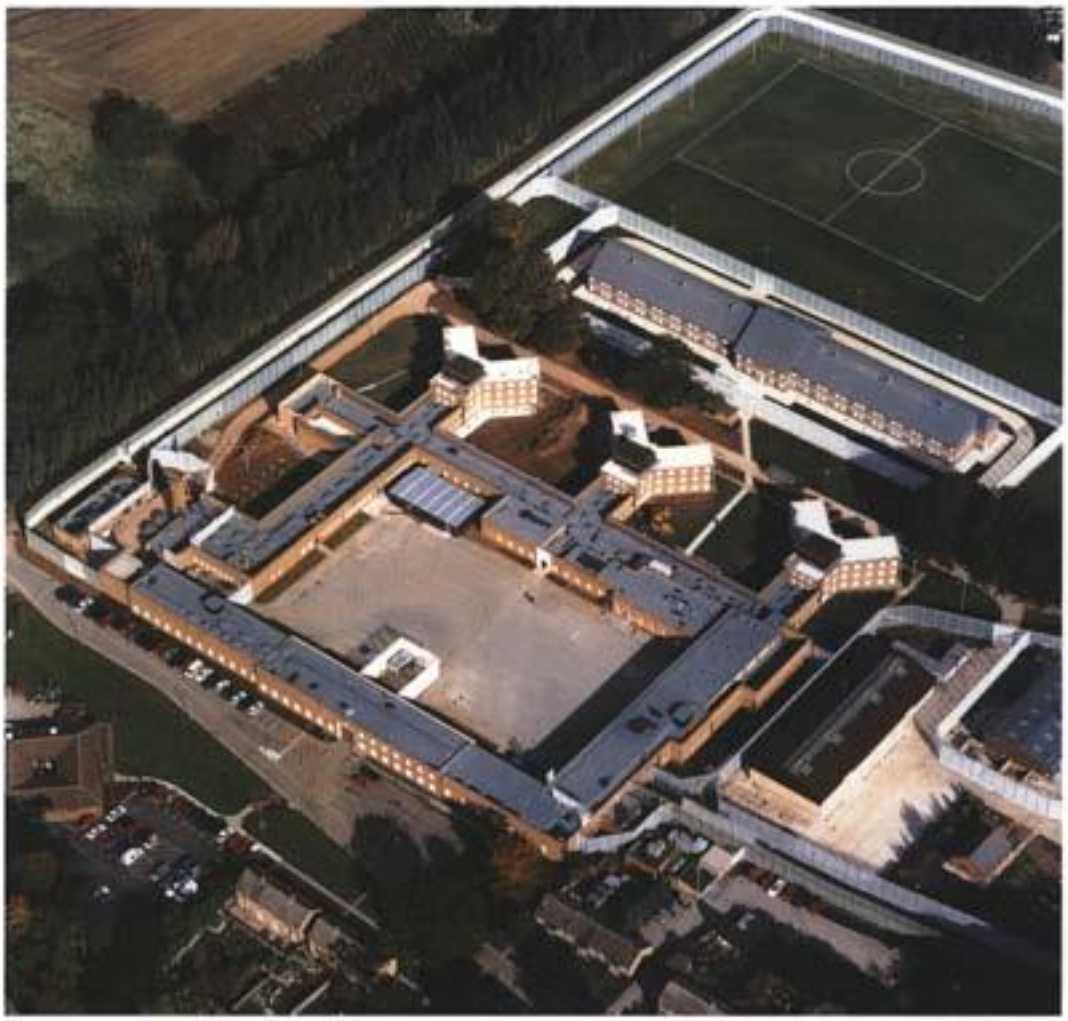


Figure 7.25 (right) HMYOI Swinfen Hall, Staffordshire. 1959–63. The inmates were housed in Y-plan blocks attached to a long service block along the side of the parade ground. A new DOWVI has recently been added. [18174/10]

Figure 7.26 (below) HMYOI Swinfen Hall, Staffordshire. General view of wings. 1959–63. The Y-plan cell blocks were not copied except at HMYOI Portland. At the centre of the Y was an open stairwell that posed a possible safety risk. [BB97/06627]

Figure 7.27
HMP and YOI Bullwood Hall, Essex. Interior of wing. 1959–62. This borstal was the last one to be built with cell blocks with open landings for almost twenty-five years. [AA98/02729]

in implementing the 1948 Criminal Justice Act through the creation of detention centres and attendance centres, though no remand centre had opened. Local prisons were still performing too many specialist tasks. Instead they should provide more effective training for short-sentence inmates and separate observation and classification centres should be established to classify inmates in a more sophisticated way. The White Paper also recognised that there was a need for an enlarged prison construction programme. In addition to the existing programme it recommended providing a further 1,800 places in secure prisons, six detention centres, more borstals and a programme to replace Dartmoor and Victorian local prisons.

A Development Group for the Design of Prisons was established in September 1958 to bring together representatives of the Treasury, Prison Commission and Ministry of Works in an effort to improve the design of prisons and to reduce their cost. By June 1959 the Development Group had produced a scheme for a new type of prison in which four T-plan wings were arranged around a central service block (Fig 7.28).[83] The wings were to be of four storeys and each spur was to be four bays long. Their ground floors were to be used for association, dining and offices while the three upper floors would contain cells. This is the outline of the design that was to be built at Blundeston (Suffolk) commencing in February 1961 (Fig 7.29).

In the Development Group's first report, dated 14 September 1959, they described the progress that had been made. They had built a full-size mockup of the new type of cell that they were proposing. The door and locks had been redesigned to increase security and reduce cost. A new type of window had been invented in which the glazing and security bars had been integrated into a single unit and modern wall and floor finishes were introduced to make cleaning and maintenance easier.

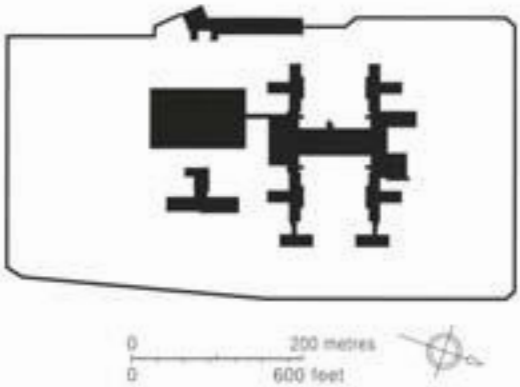


Figure 7.28
HMP Blundeston, Suffolk. Block plan. 1961–3.

Figure 7.29
HMP Blundeston, Suffolk. General view of site. 1961–3. Blundeston was to be the model prison, as Pentonville was in the 1840s. Its new architectural style was to symbolise a new approach to imprisonment. [PSA photograph taken 1963; G 9353/5]

Figure 7.30
HMYOI Stoke Heath, Shropshire. General view of wing. 1961–4. The wings of New Wave prisons had short spurs radiating from the central stair hall and toilet facilities. [AA97/06952]

The most fundamental change was the reduction of the size of the cells. The new cell was to measure 8ft 3in. by 7ft 1½in. (2.5 × 2.2m) compared with Everthorpe, which was 10ft by 7ft (3.1 × 2.1m). However, this decrease would not be noticeable due to a combination of better planning and improved furniture designs. WCs would not be included in cells as inmates would be out of their cells for most of the day. Dining rooms would be provided, as eating in the smaller cells would be impractical. All the buildings of the prison, except the hospital, the combined administration/gate, and workshops, would be in a single complex, an arrangement derived from Everthorpe, though the new prison would be more compact. This would allow it to occupy a smaller area and therefore reduce the cost of perimeter security. A press release issued by the Home Office on 21 June 1960 to announce its proposals for Blundeston contains a description of the central service block to which the wings would be attached. It would contain classrooms, a library, the canteen and gymnasium on the ground floor with the first floor housing the four dining rooms and kitchen. The top floor would be taken up by separate Anglican and Roman Catholic chapels. The press release also proudly announced that Blundeston would cost approximately £500,000, £40,000 less than Everthorpe, which provided fewer facilities.

Figure 7.31
HMP and YOI Hindley, Greater Manchester. General view of wing. 1959–61. Hindley contained many of the architectural features and planning ideas that were adopted in the New Wave prisons. [BB96/10781]

HMP Blundeston opened in July 1963 and was the first of the so-called 'New Wave' prisons (*see* Chapter 8) that were to be the dominant architectural type in the 1960s (eg HMYOI Stoke Heath (Shropshire)) (Fig 7.30).[84] However, some of the new forms had already been anticipated at HMP Hindley (Greater Manchester) (Fig 7.31). Its site was acquired by the Prison Commission in 1955 but work did not begin until 1959. Hindley was designed as an adult training prison but when it opened in December 1961 it was used as a borstal.[85] A sensational headline in *The Times* on 7 December 1961 described it as a 'Public School for Young Offenders' with 'TV sets to Hire'! Its plan consisted of four T-plan wings, similar in form to the later wings at Blundeston, arranged around a complex of buildings comparable to Everthorpe. The small size of the cells anticipates New Wave designs but the open stairs in the wings, the last vestiges of the open corridors of Everthorpe, were not repeated as they were a potential safety hazard.

Everthorpe had been criticised because its architecture did not reflect the new ideals being espoused in the late 1950s. However, with hindsight it seems that some of the heat of the criticism was a result of its symbolic, as much as its actual similarity to Victorian prisons, which were the focus of public concern. Peter Wildeblood described them as being like a 'curious Neapolitan slum' while R D Fairn despairingly wrote of Wandsworth in *The Guardian* in 1962, 'What can you do with 1,700 men, except count them, clean them, feed them and lock them up?'[86] Blundeston offered a new vision of training and treatment for inmates, and its buildings were to reflect this. It was to be the start of a huge construction programme that was expected to improve dramatically the state of England's prisons and ultimately to lead to the replacement of all the despised Victorian local prisons. Seventeen new purpose-built prisons were conceived but no Victorian prisons closed. The optimism of the early 1960s was to be defeated by the inexorable rise of the prison population that dominated the last three decades of the 20th century, but it was also undermined by the shortcomings that became evident in the design of these new prisons.

8

The Buildings of the Prison Department, 1963–1986

New Wave prisons

In 1963 the Prison Department replaced the Prison Commission.[1] In the foreword to its first report the Home Secretary, Henry Brooke, compared Pentonville and Blundeston. Pentonville was a place 'completely cut off from the outside world, into which the prisoner was discharged, totally unprepared for freedom'.[2] Blundeston was surrounded by a fence to allow inmates to look on to the countryside. Pentonville was 'a vast undifferentiated place' with 850 cells while Blundeston offered accommodation for four communities each containing seventy-five inmates.[3] There was now a recognition that 'people are not simply creatures to be kept locked up, but persons to be studied and handled in manageable groups according to their characters and weaknesses'. Even the language was part of the sea-change; inmates and prisoners were now people and persons.

Official enthusiasm for the architectural and penal ideals embodied in Blundeston was such that the decision was taken to build several other prisons using the same plan before the construction of Blundeston had begun. In 1959 a site for a new prison was acquired at Tern Hill in Shropshire, and work began in mid-1961.[4] HMYOI Stoke Heath had been expected to open in 1963 but finally opened in 1964.[5] It was followed by HMP Wellingborough (Northamptonshire) (1961–3/4), and HMP Gartree (Leicestershire) (1962–6).[6] Building work started at HMP Coldingley (Surrey) in 1963 with the prison due for completion in 1967.[7] However, the original contractors, Lavendar, McMillan Ltd of Cheam, went bankrupt and the prison was finally finished by Gilbert Ash Ltd in 1969 at a total cost of £1,600,000. HMP Long Lartin (Worcestershire) was begun in 1965 and opened on 13 January 1971.[8]

These six prisons share a common layout. T-plan wings are attached to a central common service block (Fig 8.1). The wings were normally of four storeys with cells on three storeys above a ground floor containing offices and association rooms. However, Wellingborough and Long Lartin were of only three storeys, the latter having its ancillary functions in a fourth two-storeyed spur attached to the wing. The length of the spurs of each wing also varied, from three to five bays long at Blundeston and Stoke Heath up to eight at Gartree (Fig 8.2). Each floor of each wing shared toilet and bathing facilities located at the centre of the wing. At Blundeston each wing was to house seventy-five inmates, mostly in single cells though 20 per cent of inmates were to be housed in dormitories. Most of the new prisons could house around 300 but the enlarged scheme at Gartree had 408 places.

Inmates were expected to use dining rooms located at the corners of the first floor of the central service block. The kitchen was located between the two pairs of dining rooms (Fig 8.3). The ground floor contained the prison's education facilities. Rows of classrooms flanked a spine corridor that received no natural light. The top floor of the centre block contained a pair of chapels, though today Anglican and Roman Catholic worshippers usually share one of the chapels (Fig 8.4). The redundant second chapel is now usually employed as a community hall or a teaching facility. All the administrative offices and the visits room were incorporated into an enlarged gate complex. Though many Victorian gates were architecturally elaborate, they were simply a means of access to the site. By the end of the 19th century the prison gate had been stripped of its ornament. It was no longer a symbol of castle-like security and instead exemplified the harsh utilitarian nature of the

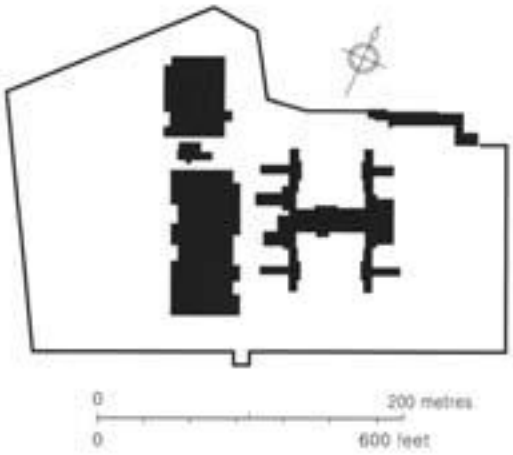


Figure 8.1
HMP Coldingley, Surrey. Block plan. 1963–9.

regime within. Although the penal system had changed dramatically by the late 1950s, the gates were still simple in their function and harsh in their architectural form. Pedestrians still had to share an entrance with vehicles. New Wave prisons separated vehicular access from pedestrian access in an effort to improve security and make arrival more pleasant for visitors and staff (Figs 8.5 and 8.6). The gate was expanded to house administration and a visits room, so that fewer people had to enter the secure area of the prison. In appearance it was now to resemble a contemporary office building, providing a more 'normal' face for the institution. A series of workshops was also provided as inmates were expected to work hard 'with plant and under conditions as similar as possible to those they will find in an ordinary factory when they come out of prison'.[9]

Alternative New Wave plans

Although the Blundeston plan was the main form for prisons in the 1960s two other arrangements were also employed. Instead of the cell blocks being located at the corners of the central service block they could be placed along the side of an elongated amenities unit or arranged around courtyards. The first of these was employed at HMYOI Onley (Warwickshire), HMP Albany (Isle of Wight) and in a reduced form at HMP Brockhill (Worcestershire) and the junior detention centre at HMP Eastwood Park (Gloucestershire) (Figs 8.7 and 8.8). Plans were drawn up for HMYOI Onley in the early 1960s and construction was in progress by 1963 although it did not open until 1968.[10] Construction work

Figure 8.2
HMP Gartree, Leicestershire. General view of cell block. 1962–6. Although similar in plan to the other New Wave prisons, Gartree housed an extra 100 inmates by lengthening the spurs of each cell block.
[AA98/08924]

Figure 8.3
HMP Coldingley, Surrey. Dining hall. 1963–9. A major feature of the New Wave prisons, most dining halls are no longer in use. [AA95/04242]

on HMP Albany commenced in 1964, with an anticipated completion date of October 1966, though it finally opened in April 1967.[11] HMP Brockhill opened as a remand centre in May 1965.[12] HMP Eastwood Park opened in March 1968.[13]

One potential problem with the Blundeston design was the layout of the ground floor of the central service block, in which a central corridor was flanked by classrooms (Fig 8.9). This corridor contains large numbers of inmates at certain times of day, but it is relatively narrow and has no natural light. At Onley and Albany, the cruciform wings are attached to a long amenities range which houses the education department. A wide top-lit corridor runs along the length of the complex. The disadvantage of this layout is that the corridor also has to act as a trolley route from the kitchen to the dining rooms attached to each wing. At Brockhill a similar arrangement is used. The wings are smaller rectangular blocks attached to a long block containing the segregation unit, offices, association areas, chapel, dining room and kitchen.

The other alternative was to arrange cell blocks around courtyards, the first time that this plan had been used since the early 19th century. The earliest of these was Risley Remand Centre (Cheshire), the first purpose-built remand centre and observation centre for male and female inmates. The site was originally a Royal Navy station, HMS Ariel, built during World War II and several of these buildings have been reused. Work began on the site in 1959 and it opened in March 1965.[14] The male remand centre consisted of three-storeyed wings arranged around a pair of courtyards, while female inmates were housed in a single three-storeyed wing with two-storeyed attached blocks providing facilities and offices. The purpose-built detention centre at Whatton (Nottinghamshire), built between 1963 and 1966–7, and the former remand centre at Pucklechurch (Bath and North-east Somerset), built at the same time, also have their cell blocks around courtyards.[15]

Two prisons based on the courtyard plan opened in the 1980s but both may have links to the designs of the early 1960s. In 1963 the land adjacent to the remand centre that was being built at Low Newton (Co. Durham) was identified as the site for an adult prison, later named HMP Frankland, and design work began in the mid-1960s (Fig 8.10).[16] However, building work did not begin immediately and by 1976 it was hoped that the prison, which was now to be a dispersal prison holding 447 inmates, would be completed by 1980. It opened temporarily during the industrial action taken by the Prison Officers Association in 1980–1, staffed by Prison Service staff and the Army. It finally opened in April 1982.[17] By this time three of the four wings were completed, the fourth being occupied in 1985. The second courtyard prison is HMP Full Sutton (East Riding of Yorkshire). In 1965 the Prison Department decided to build a new prison on this former RAF site but it was more than a decade before a decision was taken to proceed with the construction, which eventually began in 1982. The prison opened in October 1987 and, like Frankland, it is part of the dispersal system.[18] Frankland and Full Sutton are very different in plan from

Figure 8.4
HMP Gartree, Leicestershire. Chapel. 1962–6. The triangular section of the chapel is a result of its location in the roof of the central service block. [AA98/08920]

any prisons being developed in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Although their architectural style dates from the period at which they were constructed, the plan form seems to be very old-fashioned. Once construction finally commenced on the two sites, it is possible that the original scheme was revised in the light of contemporary thinking about materials and detailing.

Besides providing new prisons there was a need for purpose-built remand centres and detention centres for offenders under the age of 21. Both had been introduced by the 1948 Criminal Justice Act, and although several detention centres opened in the 1950s in adapted buildings, no new purpose-built remand or detention centres opened until the 1960s. In addition to Risley, Brockhill and Pucklechurch other new remand centres were created. In 1961 it was decided that one would be developed adjacent to the open prison at Thorp Arch outside Wetherby and this opened in February 1965.[19] Another was built at Low Newton between 1962 and June 1965.[20] As well as the new purpose-built remand centres, two were created at Exeter and Winchester between 1961 and 1964 by adding new wings beside the existing prison. At Cardiff the former female wing was reused for remands. Whatton and Eastwood Park were the only new detention centres housed in purpose-built facilities in the 1960s, the others being located in former adult prisons or on sites acquired from the military.

Security

The 1960s prison relied on the strength of its buildings as much as the perimeter for its security but a series of high-profile escapes demonstrated that older prisons provided serious security problems. The escapes of the

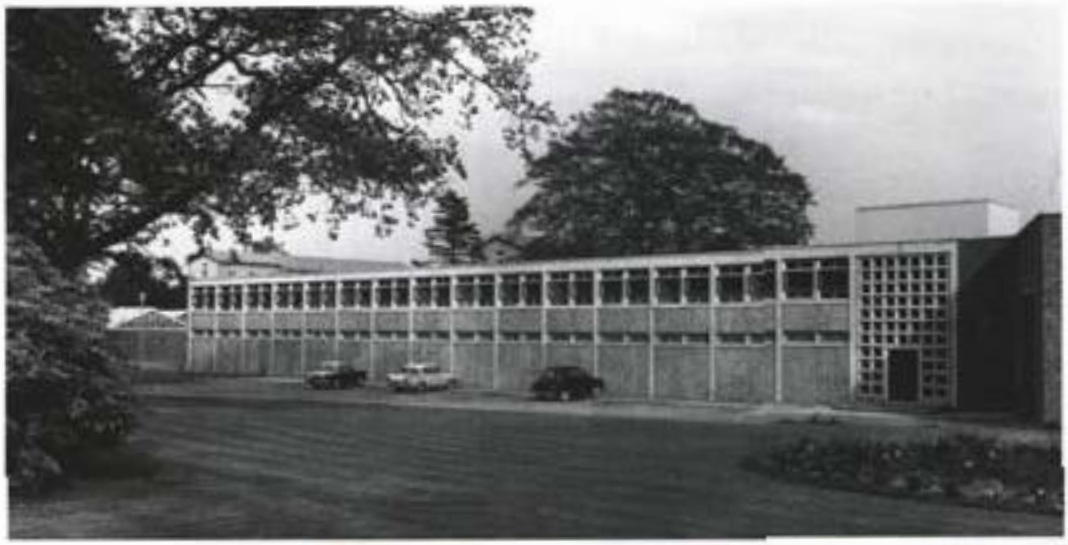


Figure 8.5
HMP Blundeston, Suffolk. Entrance block. 1961–3. This new generation of prisons was to be entered through a building that resembled a modern office so that friends and relatives would find visiting a less intimidating experience. [PSA photograph taken 1963; G 9353/1]

Figure 8.6
HMP Blundeston, Suffolk. Inside face of entrance block. 1961–3. These new buildings were to be secure through their architectural form and their security features were to be less intrusive than traditional barred windows. [AA96/04149]

Great Train Robbers, Charles Wilson and Ronald Biggs, from Birmingham and Wandsworth in 1964 and 1965 were followed by the escape of George Blake from Wormwood Scrubs on 22 October 1966.[21] Although the first two were highly embarrassing, Blake had been a national security threat whose loss prompted the immediate establishment of an inquiry chaired by the Admiral of the Fleet, the Earl Mountbatten of Burma. He was charged with investigating these escapes and making recommendations for improving prison security in general.

His report made proposals regarding the training, grading and use of staff, as well as suggesting some alterations in the management of prisons and the Prison Department as a whole. The grade of Senior Officer was introduced and the post of Head of Security was created at each prison.

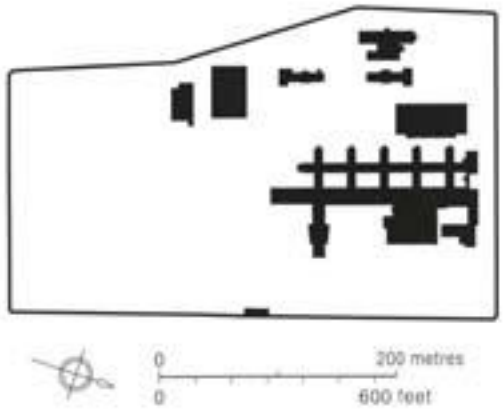


Figure 8.7
HMP Albany, Isle of Wight. Block plan. 1964–7.

However, Mountbatten's report is best remembered for the creation of a system of categories for prisoners and for initiating the debate about whether the most dangerous inmates in the system should be detained in a single, high-security prison. He recommended that inmates should be classified in four security categories and accommodated in appropriate institutions. His system of categories were defined as:

A those whose escape would be highly dangerous to the public or the police or to the security of the State
B those prisoners for whom the very highest conditions of security are not necessary, but for whom escape must be made very difficult
C prisoners who cannot be trusted in open conditions, but who do not have the ability or resources to make a determined escape attempt
D those who can reasonably be entrusted to serve their sentences in open conditions.

During his inquiry Mountbatten discovered that there was no prison in England that could claim to be secure. He deplored as uncivilised the Special Security Units (SSU) that had recently opened at Parkhurst, Leicester and Durham. Instead, he recommended that a single purpose-built high-security prison holding 120 inmates should be built. He rejected the notion that this should be on a remote island, like

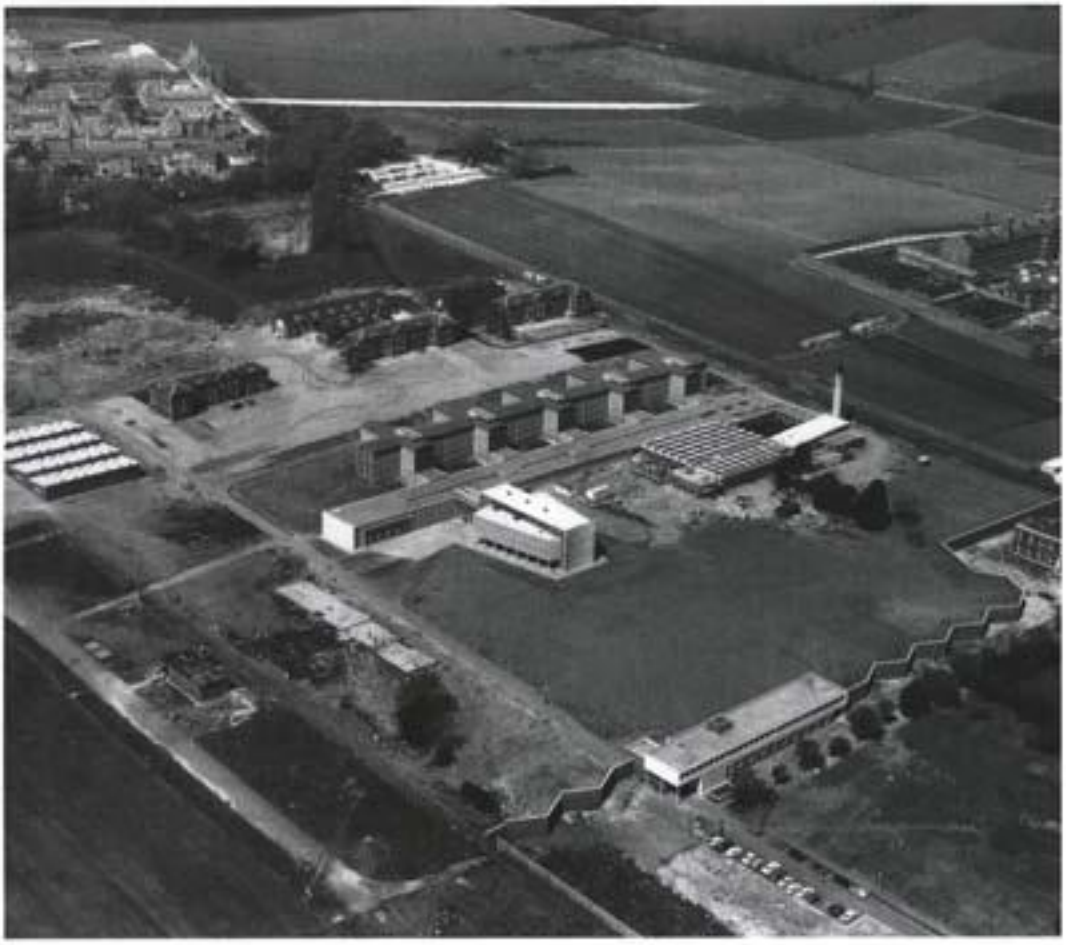


Figure 8.8
HMP Albany, Isle of Wight. 1964–7. The cell blocks are attached to a long block that contains a wide corridor giving access to the wings on one side and a range of facilities on the other. The triangular block contains the chapel. [PSA photograph taken in 1960s; G11705/6]

Figure 8.9
HMP Gartree, Leicestershire. Corridor in central service block. 1962–6. This corridor on the ground floor gives access to classrooms on either side. It has no natural lighting and at the peak of movements to and from education, it can be full of inmates. [AA98/08921]

Alcatraz, and instead suggested locating it on the Isle of Wight. He named it Vectis, the Roman name for the Isle of Wight, though it was later called Alvington. It would be alongside the other three prisons, allowing staff to move around the institutions. Its security would be dependent on strong perimeter measures that could include closed-circuit television and a range of devices for detecting sound, vibration and movement. Within this secure perimeter a positive regime could be provided:

> A constructive liberal prison regime and secure prisons are not necessarily incompatible, but conflicts will arise if an attempt is made to conduct a liberal regime in buildings designed in accordance with the 19th-century philosophy of prison treatment. Treating prisoners by modern methods in out of date buildings inevitably means that some of them can escape.[22]

While this new prison was being built, security would have to be improved at Gartree, Hull, Chelmsford, Cardiff, Wormwood Scrubs and possibly Dartmoor. In spite of his observations about the unsuitability of Victorian prisons, all, except Gartree, dated from the 19th century.

Most of the recommendations made by Earl Mountbatten were implemented but the subcommittee of the Advisory Council on the Penal System, appointed in February 1967, raised significant reservations about concentrating all Category A offenders in a single prison. They thought that it would have an 'excessively custodial' atmosphere and feared what could happen when 100 top criminals were in one place. Their report also raised doubts over whether a liberal regime could be established and expressed concern about the cost of providing a full range of facilities in a small institution. The alternative proposed by the subcommittee was to disperse Category A prisoners around a small number of prisons where security had been strengthened. If they were disruptive, they could be moved to a segregation unit. Although there would be significant costs in providing sufficient security at more than one prison, much of this would be offset through savings resulting from these inmates sharing facilities with the rest of

the prison population. The policy of dispersal was accepted and in the 1968 annual report of the Prison Department, Alvington was dropped from the list of prisons being designed.[23]

By the end of 1969 Parkhurst, Wakefield, Wormwood Scrubs, Gartree and Hull were in use as dispersal prisons and a further forty-six inmates were held in SSUs at Parkhurst, Chelmsford, Leicester and Durham.[24] Albany became a dispersal prison in October 1970 after additional security measures had been added and Long Lartin opened as a dispersal on 13 January 1971.[25] Today only Wakefield and Long Lartin are still in use, as four newer prisons, Frankland, Full Sutton, Belmarsh (London) and Whitemoor (Cambridgeshire), have replaced the older prisons.

Although the dispersal system is still a major feature of the present prison system, it has been under regular scrutiny, often in the immediate aftermath of major escapes and disturbances. A report was published in 1984 by the Control Review Committee (CRC), which had been established 'to review the maintenance of control in the prison system, including the implications for physical security, with particular reference to the dispersal system, and to make recommendations'.[26] They found that the dispersal system was expensive as high-security measures were provided at eight prisons for many inmates who did not need them and that entry to these prisons was too automatic. There were too few facilities, inadequate regimes and a lack of incentives and disincentives to ensure control. The CRC recommended that inmates should have a 'coherent, progressive career' based on an individual plan drawn up at the start of the sentence. Long-term prisoner units with a variety of regimes ranging from the relatively open to the strictly controlled, should be established for prisoners who presented persistent control problems. These units were rapidly set up at Parkhurst, Lincoln and Hull and a fourth was later established at Woodhill (Buckinghamshire). In 1987 the issue of special units was again addressed by the Research and Advisory Group on the Long-Term Prison System, which reviewed their history and future development.[27]

The CRC report also addressed architectural issues raised by the dispersal system. In 1984 there were eight dispersal prisons. Four were Victorian, three were New Wave prisons, with only Frankland having been designed after the system was introduced. The Committee believed that none of these prisons was suitable for long-term prisoners and it recommended examining recent 'New Generation' developments in the USA (*see* Chapter 9) that could be used as the basis for a concentrated high-security prison. New Generation prisons were designed and constructed at Lancaster Farms (Lancashire), Woodhill and Doncaster, but they are used for young offenders and as local prisons. The issue of concentration versus dispersal was again

Figure 8.10
HMP Frankland, County Durham. General view of house block. Initial design in 1960s, opened 1982. This is one of two courtyard plan prisons that were being designed in the 1960s although they were not opened until the 1980s. [BB98/01263]

Figure 8.11 (right) HMP Featherstone, Staffordshire. 1973–6. The enlarged wings, similar in plan to the whole of Blundeston, are now attached to a large central amenities complex. [18175/5]

Figure 8.12 (below) HMP Featherstone, Staffordshire. House block. 1973–6. The house blocks at Featherstone have no embellishment, producing one of the starkest designs in any prison. [AA96/06174]

Figure 8.13
HMP Channings Wood, Devon. House block. Although similar in plan to Featherstone, the individual blocks were not connected by corridors. [BB97/04669]

Figure 8.14
HMP Highpoint, Suffolk. House block. Opened 1985. These new house blocks could hold up to 250 inmates in 4 pairs of perpendicular spurs arranged around central facilities. [BB98/01371]

addressed by the Learmont Inquiry in 1995. It recommended the creation of a purpose-built high-security prison and a control prison that would each house 200 inmates. Neither has been built.

The 1970s and 1980s

New Wave prisons were built to standard plans based on floored wings with small cells located on short spurs and this type of wing design became the basis of most prison planning until the late 1980s. The growing prison population in the 1970s and 1980s required larger prisons, though the severe financial crises in the 1970s frequently led to their construction being delayed. The compact centralised plan of Blundeston could not be easily enlarged and therefore a new expanded plan form was developed. The earliest example is HMP Featherstone (Staffordshire), which was begun in 1973 and received the first of its 484 inmates in November 1976 (Figs 8.11 and 8.12).[28] Prisoners are accommodated in two separate house blocks, each consisting of four pairs of perpendicular short spurs with adjacent dining and association areas. Corridors link all the elements of the prison, except the huge workshop complex. This type of house-block plan was adopted at HMP Wymott (Lancashire) and HMP Channings Wood (Devon) in the 1970s, though in the latter the elements of the plan were not connected by corridors (Fig 8.13).

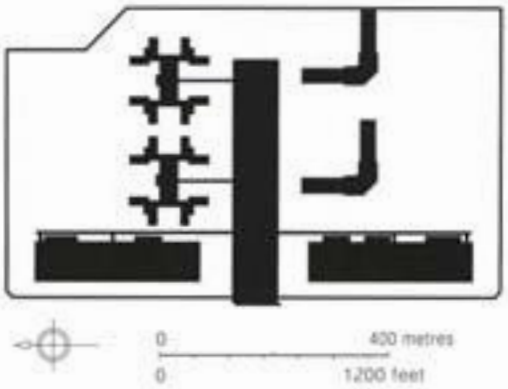


Figure 8.15
HMP Wymott, Lancashire. Block plan. Opened in 1979. The prison originally consisted of 4 blocks designed to house 816 inmates. Following a major disturbance in September 1993 two L-plan wings replaced the two early blocks that were severely damaged.

It continued to be used in the early 1980s at HMP Wayland (Norfolk), HMP Acklington (Northumberland), HMP Highpoint (Suffolk), HMP Littlehey (Cambridgeshire) and HMP The Mount (Hertfordshire), the last two opening as late as 1988 (Fig 8.14). A slightly modified version of this house-block plan was used at HMRC and YOI Brinsford (Staffordshire), which was begun early in 1986 and opened in November 1991.[29]

Each of the large house blocks in the new prisons was capable of accommodating between 200 and 250 prisoners, allowing a prison such as Wymott to house 816 prisoners (Fig 8.15). Another method of accommodating larger numbers was to create a campus layout with a series of smaller house blocks that could be connected by corridors. At HMYOI Castington (Northumberland), HMYOI Deerbolt (Co. Durham) and HMP Stocken (Rutland) the house blocks consist of a pair of floored spurs containing the cells attached to a block accommodating dining areas, association rooms and offices (Figs 8.16 and 8.17). House blocks with similar plans were added to existing prisons at Dover, Rochester, Hollesley Bay Colony and at Portland, where they have a Y-plan, apparently a consequence of an awkward site. At HMYOI Glen Parva (Leicestershire) the prison has a series of eleven L-plan house blocks arranged in two clusters. All the wings and most of the central facilities are linked by long corridors. In the 1960s at Albany, Onley and Brockhill the accommodation wings were attached to one side of a service block and this linear layout continued to be used in the 1970s. At Acklington three wings were attached to a linking corridor block, while at HMP Kirklevington Grange a similar layout was created beside the country house (Fig 8.18).

The plans of prisons of the 1970s and 1980s have clear links to their New Wave predecessors but there was a profound change in architectural style. In the 1960s the wings were relatively tall and narrow with pitched roofs and broad eaves. The square windows had a simplified glazing pattern and the security ironwork employed squares to add to the distinctive character of the wings (Fig 8.19). The central service blocks placed great emphasis on the triangular section of their roofs, in which the chapels were accommodated, and created a line of concrete flying buttresses (*see* Fig 8.4). The glass brick was raised from the

Figure 8.16
HMYOI Deerbolt, County Durham. House block. Site developed 1973–86. The house blocks consisted of two short spurs attached to a large central complex that included a dining room. Originally the house blocks had flat roofs, but these had to be replaced after a few years because of persistent leaks.
[BB98/01361]

Figure 8.17
HMYOI Deerbolt, County Durham. Dining hall in house block. Site developed 1973–86. The main central facility in each wing is a large dining hall lit by a large window in its gable end. [BB98\01366]

Figure 8.18
HMP Acklington, Northumberland. Cell blocks. Opened 1972, blocks added 1975. The early wings at Acklington are in a linear arrangement attached to a long corridor, in a layout similar to that of the 1960s linear prisons. [BB98\01411]

pavement to serve as the decorative backdrop for waiting rooms, corridors and even a chapel (Fig 8.20).

The penal architecture of the 1970s and 1980s was very different. House blocks were lower, wider and plainer. Through the use of flat roofs they became very cubic in form. Flat roofs proved to be a maintenance and security problem and by the early 1990s they had already been replaced at Deerbolt and Wymott. In a prison such as Featherstone, the cell windows provided the only articulation on the exterior of the wings, though this scarcely relieved the monotony of the walls. Even the alternating window pattern created in cell blocks where small toilet rooms were provided adjacent to each cell did little to improve the outward appearance of these blocks. Some architects seem to have been conscious of the severity of the blocks and exploited the few architectural features that were available to them. Pier-and-panel construction was employed at some prisons, a practical

construction technique that also served to enliven the exterior appearance (Fig 8.21). In two wings that opened at Rochester and Dover in 1973, and at the new secure unit at Hollesley Bay Colony that opened in 1982, the cell windows are treated as a continuous glazed band around the whole block (Fig 8.22). Tall mullioned windows were also used in the rebuilding of Holloway, where they were often included in projecting bays.

Holloway

The largest project undertaken in the 1970s was the reconstruction of the women's prison at Holloway, the realisation of a proposal first made in the 1930s (Figs 8.23, 8.24 and 8.25). Holloway was a radially planned prison built in 1849–52 and enlarged by a series of additions made in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Following the publication of the report of the Advisory Council on the Penal System in 1968, the Home Secretary, James Callaghan, announced an overhaul of the prison system for women. In particular, Holloway prison was to be demolished and rebuilt as a secure hospital based on the treatment model of imprisonment. The demolition and building work was to be phased, to enable the prison to remain operational. Work started in October 1970 and was due to be completed in 1977 at an estimated cost of £6 million. However, delays meant that the project was not finally finished until 1983 and the total cost rose to about £40 million.[30]

Holloway was designed as a secure hospital arranged around a 'village green', and within the secure perimeter inmates were to be allowed a large measure of liberty. It was to be both a hospital for physical and psychiatric treatment, and a therapeutic community, and its design reflected this.[31] The inmate accommodation is in four- and five-storey cell blocks that contain a series of 32-bed sections, each made up of two 16-bed units.[32] In the original designs each unit had a recreation room, and each section shared a common dining/television room and kitchen.[33] The small unit size and the lack of long, impersonal corridors were to reduce the institutional atmosphere.[34] The buildings are

Figure 8.19 (opposite) HMYOI Stoke Heath, Shropshire. Detail of windows. 1961–4. The 1960s New Wave prisons made a virtue of their security features to improve the appearance of the buildings. [AA97/06931]

Figure 8.20 HMP Grendon, Buckinghamshire. Chapel. 1959–62. Glass bricks, designed for use in pavements, were used in the 1960s to provide light without compromising the security of a building. [BB96/08930]

constructed of red brick, with projecting windows and flat roofs. Living accommodation was deliberately sited away from the work, education and recreational facilities, to preserve the concept of 'going out' to work.[35] The communal facilities include an education centre, workshops, gymnasium, swimming-pool and chapel. A 'trolley walk' on Level 2 runs around the site, linking all the main buildings.

As the project progressed the design of the institution was modified, partly to save money during a period of economic difficulties and partly to cater for changes in the type of population that the prison was to hold.[36] Instead of a low-security community it evolved into a facility to house remand prisoners and high-security offenders including terrorists, as well as those who might benefit from therapeutic treatment. The design of the buildings might have been suitable for a hospital, but its unsuitability for use as a prison was reflected in the high number of staff required to maintain control.[37] In 1985 it was criticised for the absence of a central hall, poor sight lines, weak security and a sprawling layout. Holloway had been conceived as a conscious rejection of the architectural style and ethos of its predecessor but instead of providing a new solution to imprisonment it actually contributed to the problem.

Figure 8.21
HMP The Verne, Dorset. Cell blocks. The pier-and-panel construction of the wing is used as a decorative feature to improve the appearance of the wings.
[AA97/01782]

New buildings – new problems

Between 1960 and 1985, forty-two prisons opened or reopened in purpose-built prison buildings. All were based on planning ideas developed at the end of the 1950s that were expected to transform the state of England's prisons. However, as early as 1961 the new ideas were under attack as 'a regretful glance backwards' and 'The Development Group has certainly improved the face of our prisons but the body, to some of us, still looks deformed'.[38] Leslie Fairweather's criticism was centred around the form and size of the wings. Like Hugh Klare in 1960 he favoured smaller prisons made up of a number of units that would allow greater flexibility of treatment.[39] However, these ideals could not be realised at a time when the prison population was rising.

By the mid-1980s a number of different pressures were building up that would transform opinions about prison design. The experience of staff and inmates in the new prisons was not satisfactory.[40] Short spurs were difficult to supervise and there was a lack of natural light and air. The new buildings were often badly built and poorly designed. The National Audit Office (NAO) highlighted these deficiencies in a report in 1985.[41] It reviewed the expanding prison-building programme announced by the Home Secretary in November 1983, which aimed to provide 6,600 places at 14 new prisons and a further 4,000 places at existing prisons. In examining earlier projects the NAO was particularly critical of the use of flat roofs in 1970s designs, which were leading to large repair bills. The flat, felt roofs at Wymott, completed in May 1979, were leaking by November 1984. The NAO also noted that there had been costly delays and changes of design while projects were in progress and failures in project management led to expensive design faults.

Figure 8.22
Warren Hill at HMP and YOI Hollesley Bay Colony, Suffolk. Cell interior. Some cell blocks used a continuous band of mullioned windows as a decorative feature as well as for lighting the cells. [AA96/05887]

Flaws in the design of Holloway had already cost £1.9 million to remedy by the end of 1984 and some problems in the building still persist. The review also criticised the omission of manning levels from the planning process for new prisons. Holloway required three times as many staff as had originally been intended. Frankland, designed in 1976 to be run by 290 staff, was opened as a dispersal prison requiring 400 staff. In spite of this, the same design was repeated at Full Sutton for a second new dispersal prison. There were also fundamental problems with the entire prison-planning and building process. The Home Office was responsible for work at existing prisons but the PSA provided new prisons and there was only limited feedback to the latter about the effectiveness of their designs. The NAO also identified weaknesses in strategic planning and analysing population trends. This report was a damning indictment of past and current management of building projects and highlighted major deficiencies in the designs and in the construction of recent prisons. However, it did not examine the problems posed by the existing Victorian building estate.

Prison conditions

Overcrowding

> I hope that the service will continue to be impatient to improve the conditions in our prisons. It is all too easy for familiarity with the problems to breed contempt of the possibilities for change. I hope that we can continue to aspire to a prison system in which there is no overcrowding, in which prisoners are held and staff can work in civilised conditions, in which we can provide constructive regimes based on work and education and in which staff are able and willing to play a positive and constructive role.[42]

These words appeared in the annual report of the Prison Department in 1981 and serve both as a statement of the objectives and as a summary of the problems that beset the prison system at that date. The first problem, and perhaps the underlying one, was overcrowding. Between 1960 and 1990 the huge building programme added more

Figure 8.23
HMP Holloway, Greater London. Block plan. 1970–83.

than 15,000 places to the system. In addition, several thousand places were also created by continuing to take over former military sites and by adding wings to older prisons. However, during the same period the prison population rose from 27,899 to 45,185 and in 1988 it reached 49,800. The new prisons that had opened were training prisons or remand centres. Although there were more local prisons in 1990 than in 1960, this was a result of reusing Victorian prisons that had previously been used as training prisons.

Overcrowding was identified as a problem throughout the whole period. The first report of the Prison Department in 1963 optimistically hoped to put an end to three people sharing a cell designed for one inmate by 1967, but by 1969 7,653 prisoners were still sharing a cell with two others.[45] In May 1981 4,900 were living three in a cell but around 11,000 were sharing a single cell with another inmate.[46] Overcrowding was felt most acutely in local prisons. In May 1981 local prisons held 40 per cent of the prison population in 30 per cent of the accommodation. The prison at Leeds, which had accommodation for 612 inmates, was holding 1,193 prisoners in April 1981 and in 1985 some were sleeping on mattresses in workshops.[47] In 1990 the 32 local prisons had 11,662 places yet they had a daily average population of 15,013.[48] At Manchester prior to the 1990 disturbances, 246 inmates were living three to a cell while another 592 were doubled up.[49] The aim of abolishing triple occupancy of cells by 1967 was finally realised in 1993–4 although this led to a rise in the number of inmates sharing a cell with another inmate.

Victorian urban prisons still provide most local prison accommodation but even as late as 1969 there was a belief that eventually these could be replaced.[50] However, it was recognised that this would not happen in the near future and therefore around £1 million was set aside to renew floor coverings and redecorate thirty Victorian prisons (Fig 8.26). A further £1 million was also assigned to improve services in eight of these prisons and in addition around £500,000 was set aside for improvements to forty-six hutted camps. By 1977 the tone of official publications had changed to one of acceptance that Victorian prisons would continue to form an essential part of the system, a direct consequence of continuing overcrowding.[51] Despite spending money on redecoration W A Brister, the Chief Inspector of Prisons, in his first report in 1981 could describe the cells he visited as 'spartan, gloomy and stagnant'.[52]

Brister's first report also provided a vivid description of the 'degrading and brutalising' life in a prison cell.[53] He found the state of the sanitation, or rather the complete absence of it, particularly abhorrent. Most prisoners had no access to a toilet while locked in their cell. Instead they were faced with the prospect of defecating into a chamber pot in front of their cellmates. When unlocked, the pots would be emptied into a sluice in the sanitary recess of the wing. An alternative was to defecate into a newspaper and eject the parcel out of the cell window.

> And the smell ...! Try to imagine several hundreds of men who have been confined in their cells for periods up to fourteen hours and so unable to get out to obey the call of nature – imagine them all emptying their chamber pots at seven o'clock in the morning. Three men in a cell means three chamber pots. The occupants have to sleep with this stench all around them. ...

Figure 8.24
HMP Holloway, Greater London. General view of prison in 1970. The huge radial prison symbolised everything that penal reformers believed was wrong with imprisonment. The opportunity to replace it with a purpose-built facility was the realisation of an ambition first espoused in the 1930s. [BB70/10140]

Figure 8.25
HMP Holloway, Greater London. General view of prison in 1995. Although a new building was finally completed, its design was ill suited to the needs of imprisonment in the 1980s. [AA96/00530]

> And still they preach about prison being educational and reformative, fitting the wrongdoer to take his place in civilised society when at last he is released. Short of shitting on the carpet twice a day and leaving it there, I can't see how any ex-prisoner can dutifully practise outside what he has learnt inside.[52]

In-cell sanitation was provided in Victorian prisons as the prisoners under the separate system were detained in their cells for up to twenty-three hours per day. This consisted of a small basin for washing that drained into the toilet bowl to provide the water for flushing. Although providing water for hundreds of cells was a major achievement, these systems do not seem to have worked satisfactorily and by the end of the 19th century they had been removed. In the early 1960s a conscious decision was made that toilets would not be included in cells in New Wave designs, as inmates were expected to be out of their single cells for most of the day. By the 1970s new prisons were including in-cell sanitation in their designs and in 1979 the May Committee

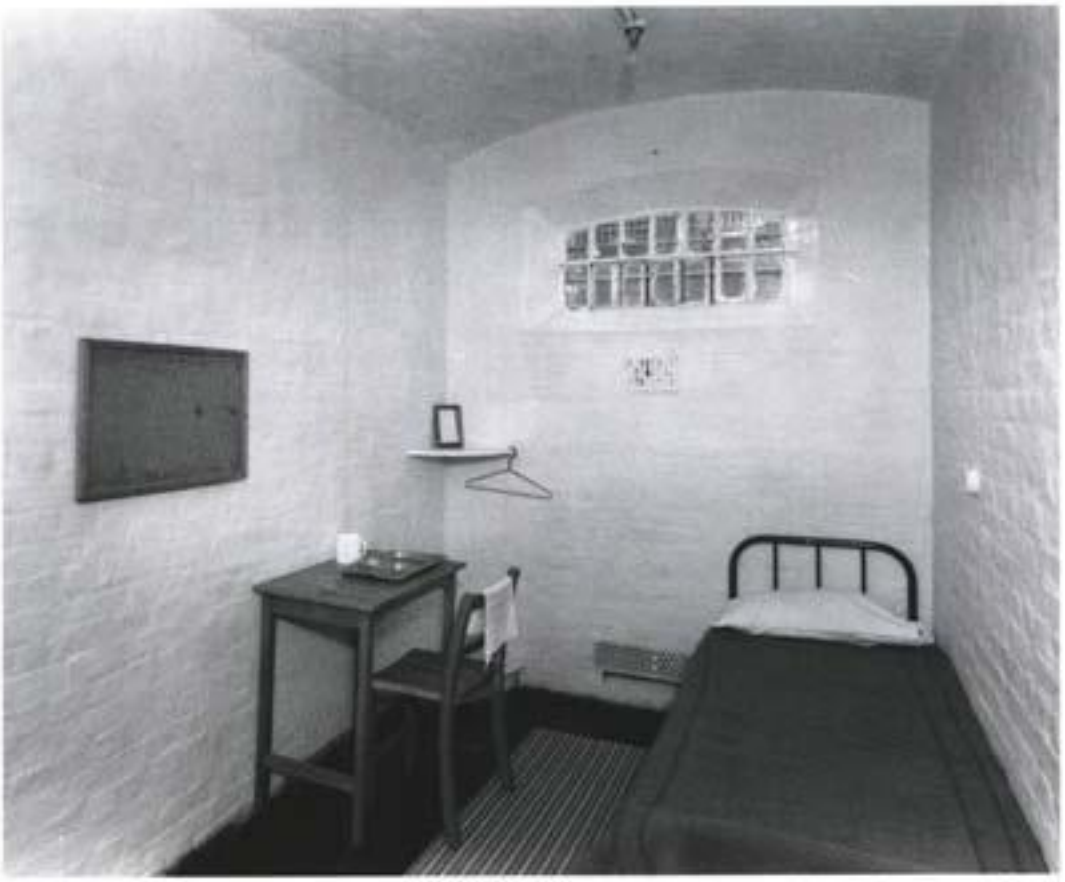


Figure 8.26
HMP Holloway, Greater London. Cell interior in 1970. Although money was spent on refurbishing cells, by the 1980s they were still felt to be 'spartan, gloomy and stagnant'. [BB70/10198]

recommended that it should be introduced into all Victorian prisons, a project that was expected to take twenty years to complete at a cost of around £200 million. However, by 1984 the Chief Inspector of Prisons could still condemn the sanitary arrangements in many penal establishments as 'uncivilised, unhygienic and degrading'.[53] Only 11 per cent of inmates had in-cell sanitation and a further 24 per cent had access to communal facilities. Most of the latter category were inmates in hutted camps or other lower-security accommodation, although an experiment with electronic unlocking of cells at night had been undertaken at Blundeston. By the end of March 1990 only 53 per cent had night access to a toilet and a mere 600 washbasins and toilets had been installed in the previous year.[54] However, the 1990 disturbances and the subsequent Woolf Report dramatically accelerated the programme. In February 1991 the Home Secretary announced that slopping-out would end by December 1994 though a rapid rise in the prison population meant that it did not finally end until 12 April 1996.[55]

Regimes

Although the physical conditions were a prominent cause of discontent among inmates, the decline in the regimes in many prisons was also causing concern. Blundeston was created to offer training and treatment for prisoners in small groups and a key part of the regime for inmates was to be prolonged periods out of their cells. In fact the prison was explicitly designed for this function as the small cells were simply to be bedrooms, with easy access to sanitation throughout the day. The first statement of the 1964 Prison Rules stated that: 'The purpose of the training and treatment of convicted prisoners shall be to encourage and assist them to lead a good and useful life.' Constructive work became a central feature of the regime for convicted prisoners and following the example of Everthorpe an extensive complex of workshops was provided at Blundeston (Fig 8.27). In 1969 Coldingley opened as the first (and only) industrial prison in Britain, with 80 per cent of the 300 male inmates expected to be employed in industrial or office jobs.

The philosophy of the prison was that of the work ethic and its regime was based on a 40-hour industrial working week.[36] Inmates had to apply for jobs in the laundry or industrial workshops, and they received a weekly wage of £1 (Fig 8.28). Other activities had to be undertaken outside work hours, with educational classes being offered in the evenings and family visits restricted to weekends.

Coldingley was striving to provide a full working week, which was a radical improvement on the existing situation. The 40-hour week had existed during the 1930s but by 1956 the average working week had decreased to 26 hours.[37] The introduction of the Norwich Experiment (*see* Chapter 7) in that year included the aim of providing a 35-hour working week but in 1963 some inmates were working as little as 2 hours per day.[38] In the early 1970s prisoners worked or undertook education at training prisons for up to 8 hours per day but at local prisons there were shorter working hours. In 1982 some inmates were still only working for 2 to 3 hours and many others were unemployed.[39] A published study using figures from 1987 suggests that the working day in training prisons varied between 4½ hours and 6 hours though in a local prison it could be less than 3 hours.[40] In 1998, in spite of an acute awareness about the dangers that idle hands provide in prison, purposeful activity was still only 23 hours per week, and at the beginning of the 21st century the immediate ambition to raise this to 35 hours remains the same as it was in the 1950s.

In 1969, the same year as Coldingley opened, a White Paper *People in Prison* was published. It advocated that prisons should provide 'humane containment', which it conceded was 'prosaic and limited' but was a realistic aim when there was a growing and changing prison population.[41] It also proclaimed, in a rather limp fashion, that the service aimed to release offenders in a

Figure 8.27
HMP Blundeston, Suffolk. Workshops. 1961–3. Constructive work and training was to be an important part of the prison regime in the 1960s and new prisons were provided with substantial workshops. [AA96/04151]

Figure 8.28
HMP Coldingley, Surrey. Laundry. 1964–9. Coldingley was to be the first 'industrial prison' in Britain. Inmates were to lead lives based on a 40-hour working week, and therefore very large workshops and a laundry were built to provide sufficient employment. [AA95/04251]

better physical and moral state than when they arrived in prison.[62] The 1977 White Paper *Prisons and the Prisoner* reiterated these limited aims but the May Committee in 1979 suggested rewriting the first paragraph of the Prison Rules as follows:

> The purpose of the detention of convicted prisoners shall be to keep them in custody which is both secure and yet positive, ...
> [It will]
> a create an environment which can assist them to respond and contribute to society as positively as possible
> b preserve and promote their self respect
> c minimise, to the degree of security necessary in each particular case, the harmful effects of their removal from normal life
> d prepare them for and assist them on discharge.[63]

These laudable aims were recognised in 1985 by Ian Dunbar of the Prison Department in *A Sense of Direction* as creating unrealistic expectations and he recognised that staff needed more measurable and immediate targets.[64] He favoured a greater emphasis being placed on programmes rather than the regime, and stressed the importance of the individual in developing a coherent planned activity. The challenge was to balance security and control with purposeful activity.

Although this provided a clear philosophical basis for developing future programmes, the quality of life for prisoners did not improve. In 1989, Roy D King and Kathleen McDermott published an article comparing the changes in regimes in small groups of similar prisons between 1970–2 and 1987.[65] During this time the average daily prison population had risen from fewer than 40,000 to just over 47,000 inmates, but although large building programmes had taken place there was still a similar level of overcrowding.[66] The time spent out of their cells had lessened for inmates in every category of prison and the length of the working week had declined markedly although there was a small rise in the numbers undertaking education and training.

Staff

Although the physical conditions and the quality of the regime had an obvious impact on the attitude of inmates, they also affected the morale of staff. In the 1970s staff were working more than 10 hours per week overtime with some working as many as 30 extra hours per week.[67] In the early 1970s there was an average of seven industrial disputes per year. The major economic problems of the mid-1970s led to cuts in the prison budget, resulting in building programmes being delayed, regimes being curtailed and cuts in overtime. By 1976 the annual number of disputes had risen to 34 and in 1978 there were 114 in 60 separate prisons.[68] On 17 November 1978 a committee of inquiry was established under the chairmanship of the Rt Hon Sir John May. This was to be a fundamental review of the organisation and management of the prison system and the conditions of service of the staff. Its recommendations included the foundation of a separate Prison Inspectorate, the reorganisation of the Prisons Board and the creation of a regional management structure. It favoured the continuation of the dispersal system and hoped that a new prison-building programme and a refurbishment programme for Victorian prisons would improve conditions for both inmates and staff. Staff pay and conditions were to be revised and improved training was to be offered.

Although it was hoped that the May Committee report would improve industrial relations, a major dispute about the new conditions began in October 1980.[69] By the end of the month 3,500 prisoners were being held in police cells and the Government introduced the Imprisonment (Temporary Provisions) Act, which was passed in two days. The powers in the Act were to last for one month but after three renewals it remained in effect until February 1981. It allowed remand hearings to take place *in absentia* to reduce prisoner movements and it authorised the release of many remand prisoners and some convicted inmates nearing the end of their sentence. The Act also allowed prisoners to be held in military camps, and in November 1980 Rollestone Camp opened, staffed jointly by prison staff and the Army. The incomplete prison, HMP Frankland, also opened as a temporary measure.[70]

The dispute ended in February 1981 but underlying industrial problems still remained. A new series of industrial disputes began at Gloucester on 24 April 1986 and rapidly spread to other prisons. On 30 April 1986 a 7-day overtime ban was introduced, an action that was to have a major impact on a system so dependent on overtime to function. On the same day a series of disturbances began which the subsequent review described as 'the worst night of violence the English prison system has ever known'.[71]

Disturbances

The public manifestation of many of the problems facing the Prison Service was a series of violent disturbances by inmates. The tension in industrial relations combined with poor physical conditions and limited regimes created an atmosphere that became increasingly explosive during the 1970s and 1980s. Serious incidents were not unknown before the 1970s but they were uncommon. The mutiny at Dartmoor on 24 January 1932 was the first time that control of a prison had been lost and although the administration block was destroyed by fire, there were no escapes and no loss of life.[72] During the 1950s there were a number of disturbances and in October 1969, at Parkhurst, 155 inmates took 7 staff hostage, resulting in 33 officers and 22 inmates being injured.[73]

These were incidents at single establishments but on 4 August 1972, 5,500 prisoners at 28 prisons, 22 per cent of the secure adult male population, took part in predominantly peaceful demonstrations that were aimed at securing improved living conditions.[74] By early September the character of these demonstrations had become more violent. Violent protests at the three prisons on the Isle of Wight spread to a further twenty prisons, resulting in considerable damage. This prompted the Home Secretary to make a statement on 6 September 1972 emphasising the need to regain control and announcing that incentives for good behaviour would be reviewed. However, there were further disturbances in November at Albany and Gartree.

In 1976 a major disturbance took place at Hull, which was in use as a dispersal prison. It lasted from 31 August to 3 September and resulted in £750,000 of damage and 200 places being lost.[75]

The subsequent report of the Chief Inspector of the Prison Service identified no single cause but felt that the high proportion of violent inmates, the limited regime and the restraint of overtime were partly to blame. He also believed that some wrong decisions had been taken and that because staff had become conditioned to acts of ill discipline they failed to see the signs of serious unrest. The disturbance at Hull also had an impact on existing buildings. The fear of prisoners again taking control of a prison resulted in security grilles being inserted between the centres and wings of Victorian prisons, so that incidents could, in theory, be contained in a single wing.

Further serious incidents occurred at Gartree in October 1978, at Parkhurst, Hull and Wormwood Scrubs in 1979 and at Wormwood Scrubs and Albany in May 1983.[76] However, the disturbances that occurred between 29 April and 2 May 1986 were the worst that the prison system had witnessed.[77] Forty-six prisons were involved and forty-five inmates escaped. Damage was estimated to have cost £5.5m and more than 800 places were lost. The disorder followed widespread industrial action taken by the Prison Officers Association at the end of April culminating on 30 April with a seven-day overtime ban. Staff at Gloucester had refused to work to the Governor's orders on 29 April and therefore the prison had to be run by the governor grades.[78] Disturbances began there but rapidly spread throughout the country, although the trouble was predominantly in local prisons. The report prepared by the Chief Inspector of Prisons in the aftermath identified a number of causes for the discontent among inmates and staff. Living conditions were poor. There was overcrowding, a lack of sanitary facilities, impoverished regimes, old buildings, and inmates had to spend prolonged periods locked in their cells. Staff had poor working conditions and substantial overtime was still required to run prisons. The report concluded that it was fortunate that only forty-six prisons were affected, attributing this to good management and good staff–inmate relations in prisons where trouble did not occur.[79] It recommended that the physical conditions should be reviewed, regimes should be enriched, industrial relations improved and clear objectives and standards established for prisons.

The disturbances of 1986 rather than the more infamous ones of 1990 (*see* Chapter 9) began the transformation of conditions for staff and inmates, and contributed to the reform of prison construction. They also led to the new prison-building programme being immediately accelerated, and improvements in sanitation in existing prisons began to be made. The nightly spectacle of inmates on the roof of Manchester prison in 1990 on television news bulletins was a public demonstration of the problems that the prison system still faced, although it had already begun to address many of these. It also helped to change the slow reform programme begun four years earlier into the most rapid transformation in English prisons since the 1840s.

9
Prisons in the 1990s

The Woolf Inquiry

April 1990 saw the most destructive series of riots in British penal history. Major incidents occurred at Glen Parva, Dartmoor, Cardiff, Bristol and Pucklechurch but the most damaging and visible disturbance took place at Manchester between 1 and 25 April (Figs 9.1 and 9.2). The prison was gutted, 147 staff and 47 prisoners were injured, and one inmate died. The estimated cost of the damage was £60 million. Lord Justice Woolf was appointed to inquire into the events at all the prisons and Judge Stephen Tumim assisted him.[1] Woolf saw his brief as answering four main questions:

1 What happened during the six most serious riots?
2 Were those six riots properly handled?
3 What were the causes of those riots?
4 What should be done to prevent riots of this type happening again?

He recognised that the riots would have been more widespread and destructive if the staff had not shown 'immense dedication, courage and professionalism'. However, the report was highly critical of the conditions endured by both staff and inmates. Although 'Fresh Start' in 1987 had provided a new grading structure and working conditions for staff that would eliminate overtime, industrial relations were still a problem and morale was low. There was a lack of personnel and they did not receive adequate training. Woolf also identified structural problems in the management of the Prison Service and an absence of visible leadership from the highest tiers. Inmates at Manchester had been locked in their cells for too many hours each day, the food was poor, there was a shortage of clothing and showers were restricted to one per week.

Woolf believed that the prison system must keep custody and control in balance with humanity and justice. His report made a series of recommendations to enhance the justice for prisoners at disciplinary hearings and to establish contracts between prisoners and the prison. To improve conditions it also recommended that the Certified Normal Accommodation (CNA) of a prison should effectively become a maximum, that in-cell sanitation should be provided and sufficient separate accommodation should be created for remands. The creation of community prisons would improve links between inmates and their families and prisons would be subdivided into smaller, more manageable units. In organisational terms the most important recommendation was to redefine the relationship between the individual prisons and headquarters. Governors were to be given more responsibility for their own establishments, with central management taking a more enabling role. The report also included a number of recommendations on improving the security and the conditions in existing prisons. It also addressed the issue of the architectural form that should be adopted for new prisons and in doing this it was re-examining a line of thinking which had been developing for a decade.

Figure 9.1
HMP Manchester, Greater Manchester. Interior of wing after the 1990 disturbances. The 24-day-long riots severely damaged the fabric of the prison, including the wholesale destruction of the roof. [Job 90/01250 3/6]

Figure 9.2
Former HMRC Pucklechurch, Bristol. Interior of wing. The Manchester disturbances sparked destructive incidents at a number of prisons. This wing at Pucklechurch was never repaired and has now been demolished.
[AA95/05520]

New Generation prisons

In 1984 the CRC recommended that recent 'New Generation' developments in the USA should be examined as the basis for the design of a future high-security prison. A small, simplified plan of a house block was included in the report. The term 'New Generation' has become linked in England with triangular house blocks but it actually describes an approach to managing a prison.[2] Inmates are held in small groups where they are able to interact with staff closely, allowing continuous direct supervision. This creates a safe atmosphere and inmates can be encouraged to become more compliant through structured systems of rewards and punishments. The architecture of the small units is designed to contribute to the safe atmosphere with as few dehumanising features as is consistent with security. In the USA the house block with two storeys of cells around a central association area became the standard form for carrying out this new approach to imprisonment. This form allowed the whole

unit to be continuously supervised without the staff consciously having to patrol it. As many early New Generation prisons were metropolitan correctional centres on small urban sites, the house blocks were often in high-rise blocks with several stacked on top of each other.

The need for a research report was recognised and a working group comprising officials from the Home Office and PSA was established in September 1984.[3] Two short visits to the USA by the working group took place in October 1984 and June 1985 to examine a number of New Generation and conventional designs and the findings were published in *New Directions in Prison Design* in 1985. It provided a favourable assessment of New Generation prisons and summarised the basic management and architectural ideas that would underpin the new approach to penal design. The report also supported the recommendation of the CRC that there could be a third option in the dispersal versus concentration debate. The creation of a number of small units on a large site could provide a range of differentiated regimes that would accommodate inmates who provided a variety of security or control problems.

The working party behind *New Directions in Prison Design* had been established to assess whether American prisons could help to create a new type of penal architecture but some new forms had already appeared in England. The report included short descriptions of recent developments at Feltham and Erlestoke, which had adopted the triangular form of American designs. By 1975 there were plans to build a new combined borstal at Feltham and following the merger with adjacent Ashford the decision was taken to build a combined borstal and remand centre. The borstal opened in August 1983, as a youth custody centre, but the remand centre was not completed until March 1988.[4] Both institutions consist of nine housing units, and share the same common facilities (Figs 9.3, 9.4 and 9.5). The buildings are arranged in an informal campus layout though the individual buildings are linked by a 'business street'. The layout was described as being reminiscent of a village and the village atmosphere is heightened by the informal planting of trees and the large grassed areas which surround the blocks. The scale and the perceived irregularity of the individual blocks were

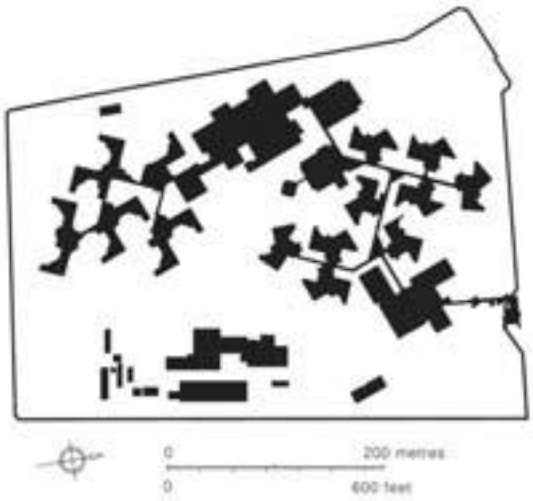
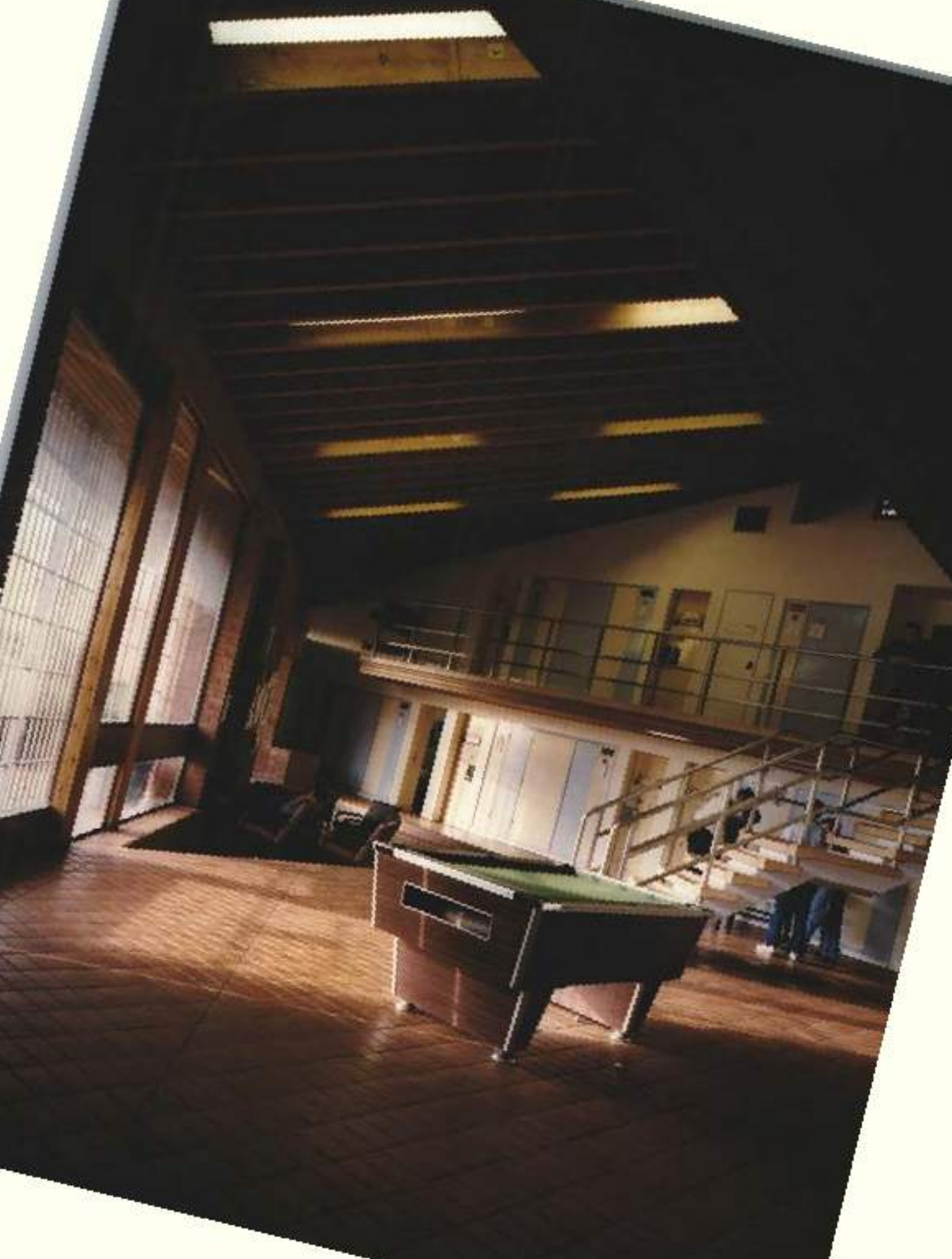


Figure 9.3
HMYOI and RC Feltham, Greater London. Block plan, 1975–88.

also to soften the penal nature of the institution. The eighteen units each accommodate thirty-two trainees in cells arranged around an association area. Most inmates are held in single rooms though some of the remand-centre units have two- or four-man rooms. The detailing of the blocks is deliberately non-industrial, both inside and out, and the direct lighting from the main window in each block creates an open, light atmosphere within.

Two house blocks using triangular forms also opened at Erlestoke in October 1984 (Fig 9.6).[5] Each consists of three triangular units containing twenty cells on two floors arranged around an association area that is lit by windows on the third side. In theory each block could be run as one, two, or three units, but there is no strong physical separation in the centre between the individual units. The house blocks at HMYOI Guys Marsh (Dorset), which were begun in 1982 but were not complete by 1985, are similar in design but have physical barriers between the three units.

Although New Generation designs have their origin in the USA, Feltham also has its roots in a meeting held at Egham in the early 1970s. The Home Office organised a conference there to bring together disciplinary staff, governors, doctors, psychiatrists, administrators and architects to draw up a brief for the new institution.[6] This multi-disciplinary group was striving to create a prison where inmates would be held in small groups. A later article about the conference included a drawing of the interior of the units. This also included photographs of a model constructed from building blocks and a sheet of plywood for



the roof, to illustrate the suggested massing of the units (*see* Fig 9.5). The units at Feltham are similar to this simple model and this strange origin may help to explain their strong geometric form.

Feltham, Erlestoke and Guys Marsh were institutions for young offenders who were to be housed in small units. The CRC seemed unaware of their existence and while the first two were illustrated in *New Directions in Prison Design* the authors recognised that a large secure adult prison would require larger units holding between forty-five and sixty-five inmates. The annual report of the Prison Department in 1985–6 announced that New Generation ideas would be employed in new prisons to be built at Milton Keynes and Doncaster and a third site at Lancaster Farms was later added to the list of proposed new prisons.[7]

Lancaster Farms was designed and built as a Category C training prison for adult males, but opened in March 1993 as a closed young offenders institution and remand centre.[8] The three original blocks lie around three sides of a central green (Fig 9.7). Each house block consists of two, two-storeyed living units that each contain sixty cells. These are arranged around a central association and dining area (Figs 9.8 and 9.9). The units are similar to those at HMP Doncaster that opened on 20 June 1994 (Fig 9.10). However, at Doncaster each triangular block consists of two house blocks, one on top of the other. This arrangement is advantageous in terms of space but means that the lower house block has little natural light. Each of these double house blocks is paired with another, with security offices between. The individual house blocks contain 60 cells on two floors with a central triangular association area, allowing 240 cells to be provided in each paired, double-height complex. The multistoreyed arrangement at Doncaster is unique in England but as with other aspects of New Generation design it is derived from contemporary

Figure 9.4 (opposite) HMYOI and RC Feltham, Greater London. Interior of house block. 1975–88. Cells are on two sides of the triangular block with the third containing windows to light the association area. [AA96/00776]

Figure 9.5 (above) HMYOI and RC Feltham, Greater London. Exterior of house block. 1975–88. The triangular form of the interior is strongly reflected on the exterior. The origin of the massing, a model made of building blocks and a sheet of plywood, is obvious on the exterior. [AA96/00762]

Figure 9.6 (above) HMP Erlestoke, Wiltshire. Exterior of house block. Opened 1984. These units were based closely on Feltham but three triangular blocks were linked to form a single unit. [AA95/04655]

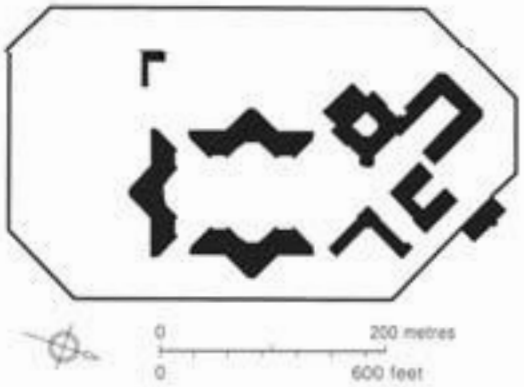


Figure 9.7 (top, right) HMYOI Lancaster Farms, Lancashire. Block plan before 1995. Opened 1993.

American prisons. Faced with restricted urban sites American prison architects have built vertically and the small area available at Doncaster seems to have prompted the same solution.[9]

The units at both Lancaster Farms and Doncaster are of two storeys with cells occupying most of the length of the three sides of the block. At Woodhill, which was formally opened on 31 March 1993, an alternative approach was adopted. Cells were placed on two sides with the third being occupied by a large window that allows a large amount of natural light into the association area (Figs 9.11 and 9.12). To provide sixty cells per unit it became necessary to increase the height to three storeys. Externally the window provides the central design feature of one side while the other two sides have a saw-tooth profile. Although an aesthetically striking feature, this form was employed to prevent external communication between cells and restricts them from overlooking other wings. The saw-tooth plan had been employed in triangular house blocks in the early 1980s and had been in use in European prisons since the mid-1970s.

Staff and inmates in New Generation prisons are generally enthusiastic about the buildings. They provide high-quality accommodation and facilities that are relatively easy to manage, are well designed and constructed, and elements such as the chapel and gate at Woodhill are striking architectural features. However, there are no immediate plans to build further prisons using these designs because of the high cost of construction (*see* Table 9.1).[10] Doncaster's cost was approximately the same as other types of contemporary prisons, with an average cost of £126,000 per place. This was probably a result of economies of size and the multistoreyed design. Doncaster was the last prison to be built and designed by the PSA. Private companies, who now have the responsibility for the design of new prisons, have not erected triangular house blocks, undoubtedly deterred by the high cost of Woodhill and Lancaster Farms.

New Gallery prisons

The 1985–6 Annual Report of the Prison Department announced that Woodhill and Doncaster would be built using New Generation ideas. It also contained a photograph of one of the two new wings that had just been completed at Standford Hill.[11] It is of three storeys with the cells on the upper storeys being reached from galleries flanking an open corridor (Figs 9.13 and 9.14). This form recalls Everthorpe and its Victorian antecedents and it represents a direct rejection of the corridor-plan

Figure 9.8
HMYOI Lancaster Farms, Lancashire. Exterior of house blocks. Opened 1993. In this second generation of triangular house-block designs two units were linked together and share common central facilities and offices.
[BB96/10341]

prisons of the previous twenty-five years. The following year's annual report announced the acceptance of this form as a basis for future cell-block designs: 'A design used by the Directorate of Works (DOW) at Standford Hill has been developed for Woolwich, Bicester and Whitemoor. The design, with cells leading from galleries on either side of a rectangular wing, allows better supervision than corridor-based living blocks.'[12] The three prisons being designed share the same type of plan. Each has four cruciform wings with three spurs of each wing containing cells while the fourth houses offices and facilities. Two-storeyed walkways link the wings to central facilities. The ground floor of the walkways was originally to be open as it was used by staff or for trolleys, while the upper walkway was secure so that inmates could move along it unaccompanied. The principal entrance to the wings is therefore on the first floor. In plan the prisons have clear links to New Wave prisons of the 1960s and their successors. However, the introduction of the open landings transformed the interior of the wings.

The new prison at Woolwich, HMP Belmarsh, which was officially opened on 18 July 1991, was the largest and most expensive of the new gallery prisons, costing £158,629,000 for 841 places, a cost per place of £189,000 (Fig 9.15).[13] Only the two New Generation prisons, Lancaster Farms and Woodhill, were more expensive per place. Building work for HMP Whitemoor began in February 1988 on the site of a former railway marshalling yard north of March. Intended at the start to be a Category B prison, security was later upgraded to make it a dispersal prison. Whitemoor opened in October 1991 with accommodation for 534 inmates, at a total cost of £57.25 million.[14] The prison at Bicester, HMP Bullingdon, opened on 16 March 1992, providing 649 places (Figs 9.16, 9.17 and 9.18).[15] During the late 1980s the acute need for places prompted a number of measures including the decision that five other prisons should be built using the design developed for Bullingdon.[16] These prisons are known as 'Bullingdon-repeats' and only differ significantly from one another in the choice

Table 9.1 New Generation Prisons – cost of construction

Name	*No. of inmates*	*Cost*	*Cost per inmate*
Lancaster Farms	374	£73.2m	£196,000
Woodhill	579	£117.8m	£203,000
Doncaster	779	£92.4m	£119,000

Figure 9.9
HMYOI Lancaster Farms, Lancashire. Interior of house block. Opened 1993. The house blocks are larger than those developed in the 1970s and 1980s. They are now capable of housing approximately sixty inmates around a large central association area. [AA96/05849]

of the colour of the concrete blocks. They are Moorland (South Yorkshire) (July 1991), Elmley (Kent) (February 1992), Holme House (Cleveland) (May 1992), High Down (Surrey) (August 1992) and Blakenhurst (Worcestershire) (May 1993) (Figs 9.19, 9.20, 9.21 and 9.22).[17] All six prisons had the same plan and the same architectural detailing, including the design of the gate.

Improving the prison estate

The dream of penal reformers before and after World War II had been to demolish the relics of the Victorian penal system and replace them with institutions suited to their new philosophy of training and treatment. However, today twenty-seven of the thirty-four local prisons date from before World War I while a further fourteen Victorian or earlier prisons are used as male training prisons or for young offenders. Since their construction in the 19th century most prisons had changed dramatically. Kitchens, laundries, bath-houses, receptions and hospitals had been added to the sites in the late 19th century and anti-suicide netting and raised handrails had been introduced into wings. By 1890 only three prisons still had water closets in the cells and ablution towers had been added to many wings. Gas lighting was improved in the late 19th century and was gradually replaced between the two wars with electric lighting. During the 1970s considerable sums were spent on brightening up the interiors of prisons but it was only in the aftermath of the 1986 and 1990 disturbances that the problem of providing in-cell sanitation was tackled.

The modernisation of the prison estate in the 1990s was not confined to installing sanitation. Wings were once again refurbished to provide lighter, brighter interiors and larger Victorian wings were subdivided into units of around forty to sixty inmates (Fig 9.23). This was achieved by installing 'security firebreaks' into which staff could withdraw in event of an incident. Security was also enhanced in a number of other ways including the introduction of steel mesh to inhibit access to the roof. This was

Figure 9.10
HMP Doncaster, South Yorkshire. Interior of house block. Opened 1994. The pairs of house blocks are stacked vertically at Doncaster, an arrangement similar to urban prisons in the USA. [AA96/06074]

normally inserted as flat grilles, producing a rather oppressive effect on the upper landing, but at Manchester the mesh follows the pitch of the roof. Refurbished wings are now covered by steel sheeting, which discolours to look like a slate roof when seen at a distance. This was to deprive roof-top rioters of a ready supply of ammunition, which slates had provided. Externally, the other significant change was in the fenestration. Before refurbishment many prisons still had small Victorian cell windows and the appearance of some wings was ruined by the piecemeal replacement of windows that had occurred during the 20th century. A new standard form of mullioned window with the bars and the glazing integrated into a single unit was introduced. Its side lights have casements that open to allow ventilation (Fig 9.24). This new window led to the lowering of the sills of original windows but created a new regularity in the fenestration pattern that had not existed since their original construction. Internally, cell doors were replaced, a measure carried out for security reasons though it also resulted in a new level of regularity and neatness inside wings. Many wings also had their internal Victorian balustrades replaced with higher ones.

During the 1990s the pressure on the prison system as a result of the rising prison population meant that most expenditure focused on providing places. However, the need for improving kitchens, gymnasia and workshops at 19th-century prisons was recognised. The addition of a house block at a more modern prison to increase the population could also render existing facilities inadequate. Therefore at dozens of prisons new facilities were provided, prompting the development of standard specifications and forms. A new type of building also began to appear as a direct result of the Woolf Report. The creation of visitors' centres was recommended as a measure to improve the experience of visiting an inmate (Fig 9.25). These new facilities lie outside the prison and act as a place for visitors to congregate before entering the prison. They also provide lockers for personal property and facilities for refreshments while the visitors wait for their visit.

Figure 9.11
HMP Woodhill, Buckinghamshire. Interior of house block. Opened 1993. Woodhill is the most dramatic New Generation prison. This is a result of placing the cells on two sides of the triangle, resulting in them being three storeys high.
[AA95/04329]

Security – disasters waiting to happen?

The disturbances at Manchester and the subsequent Woolf Report accelerated the renovation programmes for Victorian prisons and by April 1996 slopping-out had been eliminated from all England's prisons. While this programme was in progress two major escapes occurred that reawakened concerns about the state of security in prisons. On 9 September 1994 five IRA prisoners and a robber escaped from the SSU at Whitemoor. The SSU was a small cell block within its own secure perimeter inside the grounds of Whitemoor, a dispersal prison with the highest level of security available. Sir John Woodcock, the former Chief Inspector of Constabulary, was appointed to conduct an inquiry into the circumstances of the escape.[18] His report was published in December 1994, prompting *The Independent* to describe the situation as 'a disaster waiting to happen'.[19] As a result of the Woodcock Report another more extensive inquiry was established to examine the issue of security throughout the Prison Service. General Sir John Learmont, the former Quartermaster General of the Army, was appointed on

19 December to head the inquiry, which was to begin its work on 9 January 1995.[20] However, during these three weeks three major events occurred. On 1 January 1995, Fred West committed suicide while on remand in Birmingham accused of a series of murders in Gloucester and on the following day riots took place at Everthorpe. On 3 January three inmates escaped from Parkhurst, exposing both procedural and physical weaknesses at the prison.

Learmont's report provided a detailed analysis of the problems at Parkhurst and in the system in general. It also offered a number of proposals for improving security and control. He found that the system was bedevilled by excessive paperwork and recommended improving the management structure and the relationship between the Prison Service and the Home Office. He also recommended that the existing prisoner categorisation system of A to D be replaced by a six-stage system, which would allow greater flexibility in classifying higher-security-risk prisoners. This was not implemented but recommendations about volumetric testing have gradually been introduced. Inmates are now permitted a limited volume of property in their cells. Previously, searching had been difficult to conduct as inmates had no limit on the amount of property that they could accumulate in their cells. One of the most controversial recommendations was that televisions should be installed in cells, on the grounds that they would serve as a calming influence and could be used as an incentive for good behaviour. This had been recommended by the Chief Inspector of Prisons in 1989, who had witnessed the transformation of French prisons following their introduction.[21] In one French prison the number of tranquillisers prescribed to inmates dropped by 70 per cent. The Government did not initially accept this recommendation, but in June 1998 it was finally adopted.

Besides these general proposals the Learmont Inquiry made specific recommendations about dispersal prisons. It recommended the appointment of a Director of Dispersals and proposed the creation of a high security prison and a separate control prison. Unlike previous schemes for concentrated imprisonment, the Learmont Report included details of the design and management of the prisons.[22] Each was to hold 200 inmates in self-contained units of around 20 inmates

Figure 9.12 (above) HMP Woodhill, Buckinghamshire. Opened 1993. The house blocks are paired and arranged in an irregular pattern within verdant grounds. [18140/5]

Figure 9.13 (left) HMP Standford Hill, Kent. Interior of wing. Opened 1986. This prison was the first to employ wings with open landings for twenty-five years, a return to the Victorian form. It was designed to allow easier supervision of inmates moving around the wing, rather than to detain them in their cells as in the 19th century. [AA96/02681]

designed according to New Generation principles. Workshops, recreation facilities, exercise areas and catering facilities would also be provided. This proposal is strongly reminiscent of one made by Hugh Klare in 1960.[23] He had described an ideal prison that would house 150 inmates in a dozen units with around 12 inmates in each, a number particularly suited to the needs of group therapy. Learmont's units were to be small enough to meet the aims of New Generation philosophy while offering regimes appropriate for the range of inmates to be housed in the prisons. The duplication of facilities required by creating a series of self-contained units makes the design prohibitively expensive and neither of the proposed prisons has been constructed.

Accelerating the building programme

In the mid-1980s it took up to seven years to create a new prison, of which building work only accounted for three years.[24] This time could not be dramatically reduced but measures were taken to shorten the

Figure 9.14
HMP Standford Hill, Kent. Exterior of wing. Opened 1986. Each of the wings was paired with central facilities and offices. [AA96/02671]

Figure 9.15
HMP Belmarsh, Greater London. Exterior of wing. Opened 1991. The plans of New Gallery prisons are similar to those of the 1960s with cruciform wings attached to services. However, internally they were modelled on those at Standford Hill. [AA96/00903]

preparatory phase and new commissioning procedures meant that a site could be brought into use in only twelve weeks.[25] A shortlist of sites for new prisons was drawn up to avoid protracted public inquiries when a new site was required. A lack of standardisation meant that the initial design phase for a new prison took up to three years. The authors of *New Directions in Prison Design* recognised that there was a need to replace the existing design guides that had been produced in 1976. Although very detailed they were already out of date by 1985. In 1987 a multidisciplinary team consisting of architects, quantity surveyors, fire officers, administrators, governors and engineers was established.[26] They were given

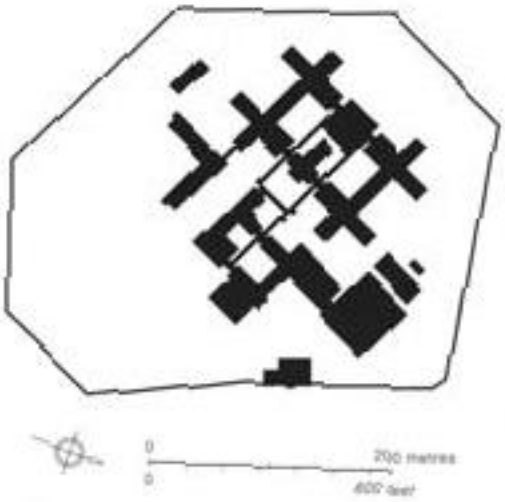


Figure 9.16 (left) HMP Bullingdon, Oxfordshire. Block plan. Opened March 1992.

Figure 9.17 (below) HMP Bullingdon, Oxfordshire. Opened March 1992. The cruciform house blocks are linked to each other and the facilities by two-storeyed corridors. [15879/10]

Figure 9.18 (right) HMP Bullingdon, Oxfordshire. Wing interior. Opened March 1992. The wings are open from floor to ceiling to allow easy supervision of inmates on the landings. Three of these short wings share a central set of offices and education facilities. [AA96/05538]

Figure 9.19 (below) HMRC and YOI Moorland, South Yorkshire. Exterior of house block. Opened July 1991. [BB98/21484]

Figure 9.20
HMP Holme House, Cleveland. Central area of prison. Opened May 1992. At the heart of the New Gallery prisons is the chapel, which can be reached from all parts of the prison by the upper walkways. [BB98/01328]

Figure 9.21
HMP High Down, Surrey. Exterior of visits room. Opened August 1992. A major feature of all new prisons is a large visits room. The long range of windows is to permit as much natural light as possible in the room. [AA98/00550]

one year to draw up a series of guides that collated and updated existing advice on prison design and construction so that the procedures could be expedited and made more cost effective. In the future new prisons would be designed in less than a year, whereas they had previously been on the drawing board for three years.[27] The guides also provided architects and contractors with sufficient information to enable them to design new prison buildings. They have also served as a basic standard that private sector firms must abide by when submitting bids to design and construct prisons. The initial guides, published in October 1988 in twenty-seven booklets, covered the design of a 600-place Category B adult male training prison. Later additions to this 'Prison Design Briefing System' (PDBS) covered elements of design that differed in young offender institutions and female and local prisons. The design team was led by John Lynch who had been a member of the Home Office Working Party which had published its findings in *New Directions in Prison Design*.[28] Therefore he was able to bring his direct experience of New Generation design to the guides, which explicitly incorporated the relevant features of American prisons.

The primary aim of prison design is to provide a secure institution while also establishing the conditions to enable as full and normal a life as possible to be led by the inmates.

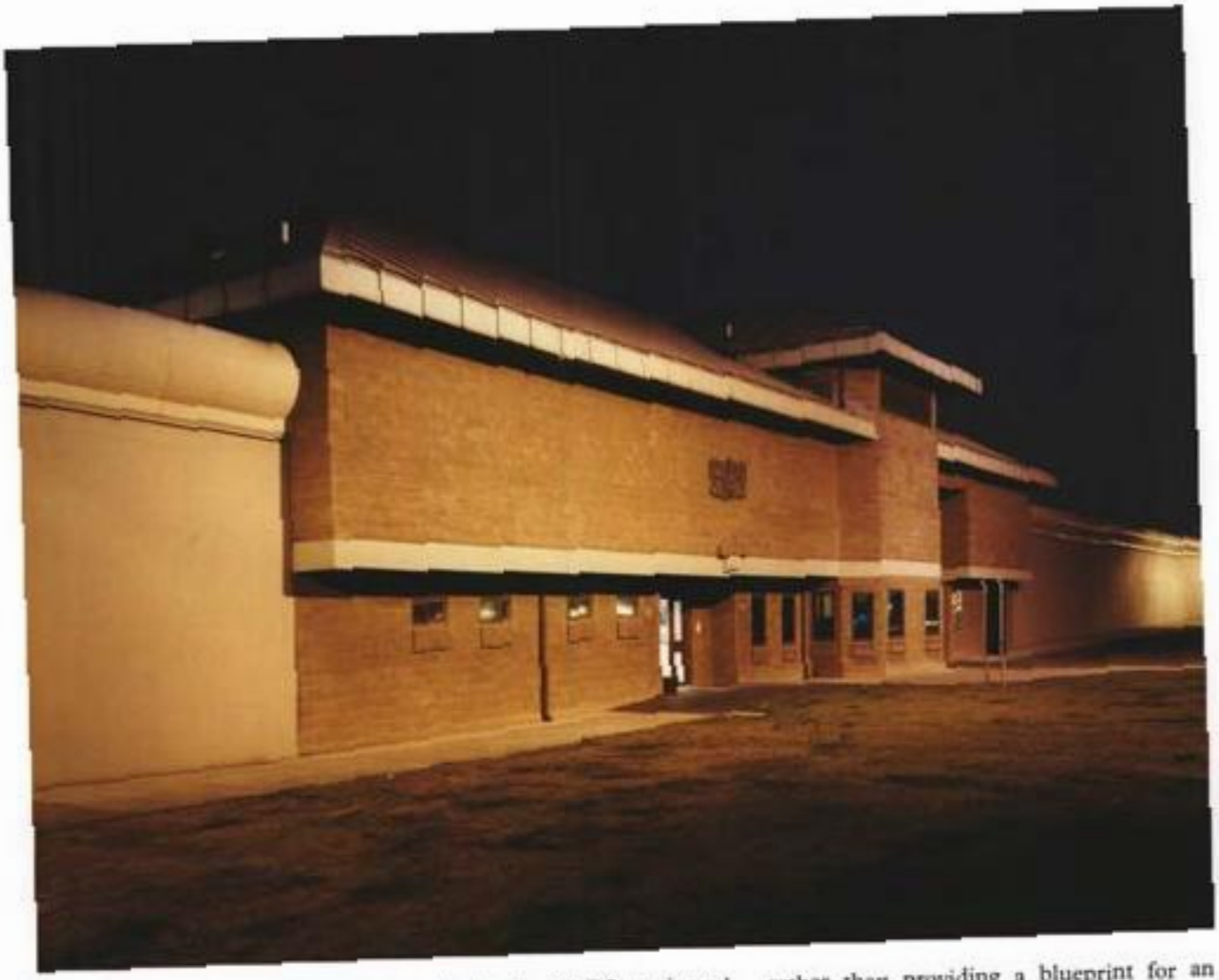


Figure 9.22 (above) HMP Holme House, Cleveland. General view of gate at night. Opened August 1992. [BB98/01539]

Figure 9.23 (opposite) HMP Manchester, Greater Manchester. Interior of wing. Opened 1993. Three years after the disturbances the prison was reopened. The basic structure of the Victorian prison was retained but a new roof with security mesh and extensive glazing was built. [AA96/02494]

The design solution in PDBS envisaged grouping the residential accommodation around a green recreational area. A prison 'street' would contain central facilities such as a shop, visits facilities, a chapel and an education centre. The industrial area would deliberately be a short walk from the house blocks, to symbolise the idea of going out to work. Open footpaths linking the different prison buildings would give prisoners fresh air and exercise as part of a normal daily routine rather than as a programmed activity. The environment and the design of individual buildings would encourage the development of relationships between prisoners and staff. The small house blocks proposed in the brief were to offer good visibility for staff while also creating a relaxed environment in which control appears to be natural rather than custodial. The guides were expected to be advisory, rather than providing a blueprint for an actual prison. The overall layout and the form of the house blocks at HMP Wolds (East Riding of Yorkshire) are the closest approximation to the vision presented in PDBS (Figs 9.26, 9.27 and 9.28).

Although the new guides were to expedite the design process, other immediate measures were required to meet the rise in the prison population. As discussed above, five new prisons were constructed to the same design as HMP Bullingdon. At the same time, the Directorate of Works (DOW) began to develop a series of standard wing designs. The first of these (DOW I) was based on a block designed for Bedford and by 1991 eight had been added to existing prisons (Figs 9.29 and 9.30). This so-called Bedford Unit is rectangular in plan with cells on three sides and offices and facilities on the other.

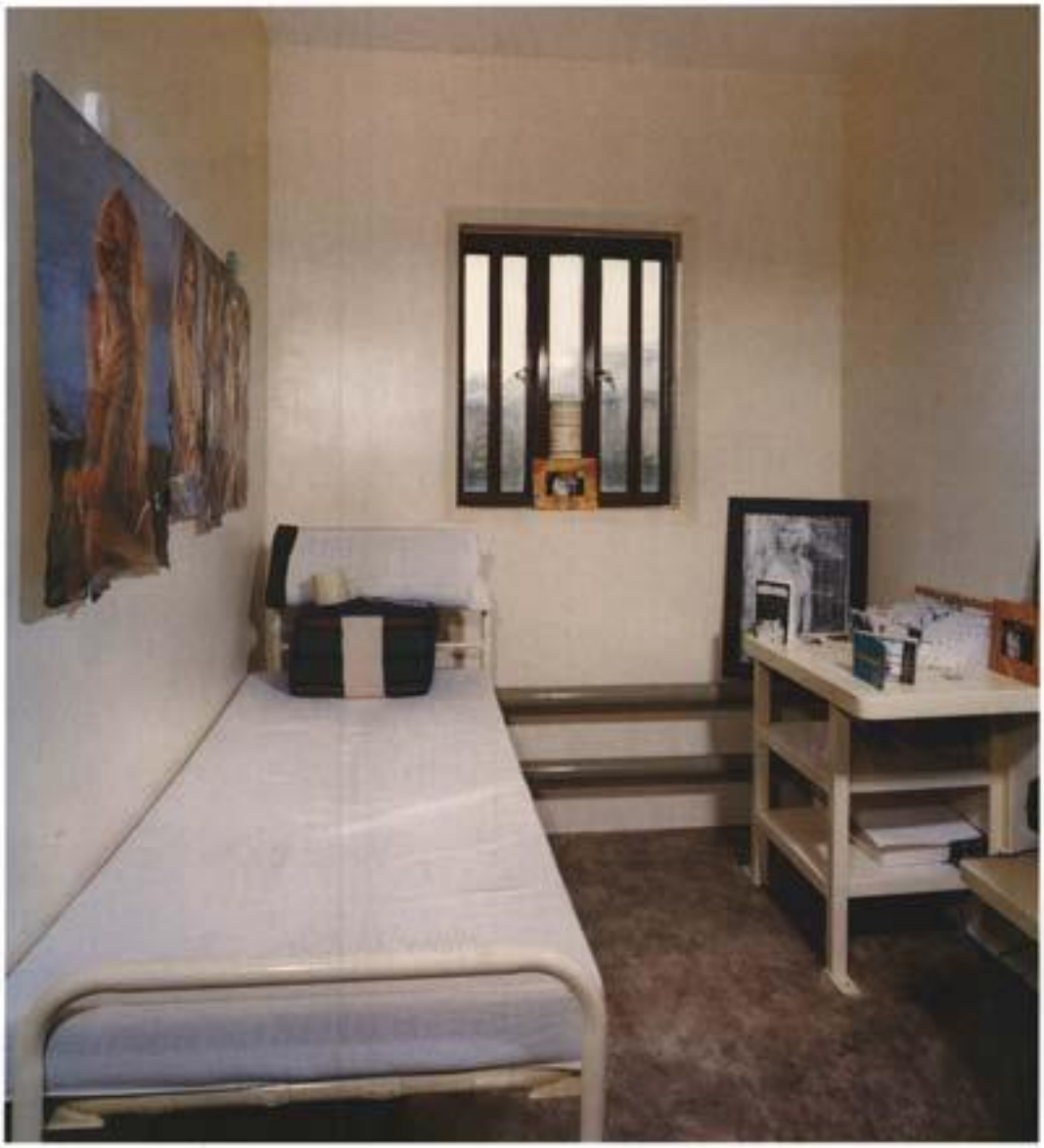


Figure 9.24
HMYOI Lancaster Farms, Lancashire. Cell interior. Opened 1993. Cells in new prisons have a standard form of mullioned window in which the outer casements open. Most cell windows in older prisons have been replaced with these units. [AA96/05856]

Other standard blocks that have been developed are galleried wings similar to the wing design introduced at Standford Hill (Figs 9.31, 9.32 and 9.33). In total more than twenty standardised wings have been added to existing prisons in the past ten years.

Private-sector involvement in imprisonment

By the end of the 1980s the Conservative Government had become convinced that the private sector had a role to play in the provision of imprisonment. Since the mid-1970s private firms had provided services in American prisons. The first small private penal institution opened in Pennsylvania in 1976 and by the end of the 1980s dozens of prisons were being managed by private companies.[29] In 1984 the Adam Smith Institute proposed creating a private prison in the United Kingdom and in 1987 a House of Commons Select Committee visited four private establishments in the USA.[30] The subsequent report, 'Contract Provision of Prisons', recommended experimenting with private-sector involvement in the construction and management of new remand prisons, an idea that was incorporated into the 1988 Green Paper 'Private Sector Involvement in the Remand System'.[31] The 1991 Criminal Justice Act included provisions to allow the management of prisons to

Figure 9.25
HMP Belmarsh, Greater London. Interior of visitors' centre. Opened 1995. The Woolf Report recommended the creation of a visitors' centre so that visitors could have a facility in which to wait, have a refreshment and leave their property in a locker. [AA96/00913]

be contracted out to private companies and established the post of Controller in these prisons to monitor the operation of the contract.[32] The Government signed the contract for the first private establishment with Group 4 on 6 November 1991 and the Wolds Remand Prison opened on 6 April 1992. A year later Group 4 began the operation of the first contract for court escorts. HMP Blakenhurst became the first privately operated establishment housing convicted prisoners when it opened in May 1993. HMP Doncaster opened on 20 June 1994 and by May 1995 the privately managed prison at Buckley Hall (Greater Manchester) had been completed (Fig 9.34).[33]

These prisons are managed by private companies but had been designed and constructed by the PSA. Therefore, the designs follow forms being employed in the newest prisons managed by the Prison Service. The cell blocks at the Wolds Remand Prison are based on the type of design outlined in the PDBS. Blakenhurst was one of the Bullingdon-repeats and Doncaster was one of the three New Generation triangular house-block designs. Buckley Hall's cell blocks were early examples of a standard prefabricated wing design (DOW VI) that the Prison Service developed to provide additional places at existing prisons.

Although there were initial problems with the management of some of these prisons and the new private escort service, these gradually declined and private involvement became an accepted part of the overall system. The next stage was to involve the private sector in the Design, Construction, Management and Financing (DCMF) of new prisons through the Private Finance Initiative (PFI). In June 1995 contracts for new prisons at Bridgend (Parc)

Figure 9.26
HMP Wolds, East Riding of Yorkshire. Interior of house block. Opened April 1992. The house blocks at the Wolds are the closest in form to the ideas developed in the PDBS. They are based on ideas developed in New Gallery and New Generation prisons. [AA97/01644]

(Mid Glamorgan) and Fazakerly (Altcourse) (Merseyside) were awarded to two consortia, who were expected to have the new prisons operational by the end of 1997. HMP Parc consists of two large H-Plan blocks each containing four units of seventy-five cells with a third smaller accommodation block (Fig 9.35). The units consist of cells on three storeys with a large adjacent association and dining area. In form they resemble contemporary American New Generation designs and the extensive use of electronic, pneumatic locking also appears to be an American import. The use of a light, collapsible, inner security fence is another novel idea that had not been used in England. The segregation unit, industry, healthcare and admissions occupy another single huge block, while smaller blocks contain amenities and the visits room.

HMP and YOI Altcourse is very different in design. Instead of 300 cells per block, it has 6 separate units similar in form to the prefabricated DOW VI wings but with an association and dining area attached to the wing (Fig 9.36). The similarity to DOW VI units may be due to Group 4's experience with their previous prison at Buckley Hall. Locking is still by key though one innovation employed is the use of turnstiles between the yards. These allow inmates to move around the site by using a 'smart' card and similar turnstiles are included at the entrance to the wings of Buckley Hall (Fig 9.37). The NAO scrutinised the contracts for Parc and Altcourse.[34] Over their twenty-five-year life they will cost £513m, a saving for the Treasury of around 10 per cent. Greater savings would have been achieved if the two contracts had been awarded to a single operator, though this would also have offered a greater risk of failure. These prisons have also been designed and built in a shorter period than had been achieved in the public sector.

Parc is managed by Securicor, their first prison in England, while Altcourse is the third prison to be managed by Group 4. Premier Prison Services, a joint venture between Wackenhut Corrections and Serco, manages Doncaster and it was awarded the contract for the third DCMF prison, Lowdham Grange, which opened in February 1998. The 500 beds are in 2

cruciform wings that each operate as 4 separate house blocks with a central security station at the intersection. The wings are of two storeys with galleries giving access to the upper storey. The prison was built in fourteen months by Kvaerner at a cost of £35m and Altcourse and Parc were built in a similarly short period. Such rapid progress was possible because of prefabrication techniques and, in the case of Parc, the extensive use of tunnel-forming to create up to eight cells a day.

The speed of construction, the low cost and the transfer of risk and initial capital costs to the private sector have encouraged the Government to use the PFI to build future establishments. The secure training centre at Cookham Wood (Kent) holds forty persistent juvenile offenders. This type of institution was required following the passing of the 1994 Criminal Justice and Public Order Act, which included a provision for imprisoning persistent offenders aged between 12 and 14 for periods between six months and two years.[9] Four further centres are planned. In June 1997 tenders were invited for a new 800-place prison at Salford on the site of the former

Figure 9.27
HMP Wolds, East Riding of Yorkshire. Exterior of house block. Opened April 1992. The house blocks are in pairs with shared facilities and the blocks are arranged around a central courtyard. [AA97/01652]

Figure 9.28
HMP Wolds, East Riding of Yorkshire. Gate. Opened April 1992. When it opened as the Wolds Remand Prison it was the first prison to be managed by a private company although it had been designed and built by the PSA. [AA97/01638]

Figure 9.29 (opposite) HMYOI Onley, Warwickshire. Interior of Bedford Unit (DOW I). Opened 1990–1. The design of this unit reflects ideas in the PDBS and in New Gallery and New Generation prisons. A vertical suite of offices allows supervision of each level. [AA97/06562]

Figure 9.30 (left) HMP Littlehey, Cambridgeshire. Exterior of Bedford Unit (DOW I). Opened 1989–90. The Bedford Unit was the first of a series of standard units developed to allow accommodation to be built quickly and cheaply to deal with a growing prison population. [AA97/07727]

Figure 9.31 (left) HMP Norwich, Norfolk. Interior of new wing (DOW IV). Opened 1996. Most of the new standard wings used forms based on the design reintroduced at Standford Hill. [AA96/05252]

Figure 9.32
HMP and YOI Hindley, Greater Manchester. General view of new wing (DOW II). Opened 1996. New wings were built in pairs with a shared central entrance and facilities. [BB96/10790]

Agecroft Power Station and for a 400-bed combined remand centre and YOI on the site of Pucklechurch Remand Centre. Both establishments had opened by early 2000. In November 1997 two further sites were subjected to the tendering process and contracts were signed in 1999 for new prisons at Onley (Warwickshire) and Marchington (Staffordshire). HMP Rye Hill and HMP Dovegate both opened in 2001.

Figure 9.33
HMP Norwich, Norfolk. Cell in new wing (DOW IV). New wings have cells similar in size to Victorian wings and like those of the 19th century they have integral sanitation. [AA96/05248]

The Emergency Accommodation Programme

The population of England's prisons has consistently risen since 1940, exceeding 20,000 in 1950, 30,000 in 1962 and 40,000 in 1976. In 1985 it reached 46,597 and for the next ten years it ranged from 45,000 to 50,000. Its rise was checked by some of the provisions in the 1991 Criminal Justice Act. In 1996–7 it reached 56,683 and by July 1998 it stood at just over 66,000. A rise in the prison population of 10,000 had taken place in just over one year, an increase that would have previously taken a decade. The tougher sentencing policy which arose from the 'Prison works' philosophy of the Home Secretary, Michael Howard, was having a direct impact.

The Prison Service adopted an emergency accommodation programme beginning in 1996 that would provide 4,075 places by the end of 1998.[36] A few places have been provided by using one of the existing standard DOW designs while 395 places were created by reclaiming cells at existing prisons that had formerly been employed as stores or offices. However, most of the places have been created by constructing two new types of block, the DOW VI and the Ready-to-Use unit (RTU). The DOW VI is a 120-place cell block consisting of a pair of wings flanking

Figure 9.34
HMP Buckley Hall, Greater Manchester. Interior of wing. Opened 1995. The wings in this prison were built using prefabricated techniques that were developed into a standard type of wing (the DOW VI) used in a number of prisons. [AA98/08697]

Figure 9.35
HMP Parc, Mid Glamorgan. Exterior of wing. Opened 1997. Private companies developed distinctive architectural forms and styles. Each large block contains two house blocks and supporting facilities. [AA98/08723]

a central area containing offices and stores (Figs 9.38 and 9.39). The wings are of two storeys with the upper tier of cells being reached from galleries. In appearance they are reminiscent of previous DOW designs. However, they can be built in less than nine months because of their use of standard prefabricated units. Most of these new wings have steel frames with metal wall coverings on the interior. However, DOW VI wings added to higher-security prisons use precast concrete units. The RTU has been introduced as an emergency measure at some Category C and D establishments (Fig 9.40). It was originally developed to provide accommodation for workers in the oil industry in Norway and the first was installed at Kirkham (Lancashire) in November 1996. By mid-1997, 17 units were installed, providing 680 places. RTUs are prefabricated timber-framed blocks that provide forty bedrooms with small bathrooms beside the sleeping area.

To accommodate the rising population the Prison Service also looked across the Atlantic where a ship that had been used as a prison was available (Figs 9.41 and 9.42). Weare prison (Dorset) has erroneously

Figure 9.36
HMP and YOI Altcourse, Merseyside. Interior of wing. Opened 1997. The new privately managed prisons still employ the open landings that have been the dominant Prison Service form since the late 1980s. [AA98/08914]

Figure 9.37
HMP and YOI Altcourse, Merseyside. Turnstile and fence. Opened 1997. At Altcourse, turnstiles regulate the movement of inmates around the prison. This novel idea had first been employed by William Blackburn in the 1780s. [BB98/13630]

been described in the media as a 'hulk', a revival of the barbaric demasted warships of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. In reality its history began with the Falklands War. Weare, which was originally known as *Bibby Resolution*, was one of two barges provided by Bibby Freighters Ltd of Liverpool to accommodate troops after the United Kingdom recaptured the Falkland Islands.[57] A crisis in prison accommodation in New York inspired the Department of Correction to lease the two barges.[58] The *Bibby Venture* was towed from England and arrived in New York in October 1987. The city paid $19m for a five-year lease but the ship was immediately condemned as an 'unsupervisable labyrinth' and was never fully occupied. The *Bibby Resolution* was brought from the Falklands. It was larger, holding 450 inmates, and had wider corridors and more spacious cells. It was leased for five years at a cost of $21m. In 1994 the Prison Service sent a three-man team to Sweden to examine the *Bibby Progress*,

which had originally been built as a hotel but had most recently been used to house displaced persons.[39] By 1997 it was decided that a ship could serve as a short-term measure for accommodating prisoners and after a planning application was approved the *Bibby Resolution* was brought from New York to Portland in Dorset.[40] It received its first inmates in July 1997.

Weare can accommodate 400 inmates in a five-storeyed cell block. They are housed in four lines of cells with each pair flanking a narrow corridor. Between these pairs there is a wide space that provides light for the inside lines of cells. None of the windows opens and therefore air-conditioning is provided. The cells measure 12ft by 8ft (3.7 x 2.4m) and contain double bunks. Within the cells there is a bathroom that contains a WC and a shower. The cell block also contains most of the facilities required by inmates. There is a large gymnasium on the top floor, and a small outdoor exercise area on top of the ship. Additional exercise areas are provided on shore.

Politics and prisons

The Emergency Accommodation Programme was a direct result of the need to house the growing numbers of prisoners being sent to prison following Michael Howard's assertion that 'Prison works'. The introduction of the private sector into the provision of prison accommodation was motivated by a desire to reduce government spending, but it was also an expression of the Conservative Government's belief in the primacy of the private sector over the state sector. It also served as a lever to reduce costs in existing state prisons, through the introduction of new work practices that also lessened the strength of the Prison Officers Association. Less expensive civilian-grade staff assumed some of the patrolling and escorting duties that had previously been carried out by prison officers.

Prisons have always been part of political life but growing openness by the Prison Service during the 1990s seems to have led to a greater public interest and awareness of penal issues. The Conservative

Figure 9.38
HMYOI Wetherby, North Yorkshire. General view of new wing (DOWVI). Opened 1997. In an effort to accommodate the rapidly rising prison population the prefabricated DOWVI wing was developed. Its cells are delivered by lorry and assembled on site.
[AA97/07394]

Figure 9.39
HMP Garth, Lancashire. Interior of new wing (DOWVI). Opened April 1997. The interior is based on designs developed in the early 1990s and was first employed at Buckley Hall. Each wing provides sixty cells. The wings are built in pairs with a single central entrance and security offices. [AA97/07352]

Government between 1979 and 1997 introduced a series of measures to increase the rigour of imprisonment, measures that were applauded by some members of the public who believed that prisons were holiday camps. In 1980 two detention centres, New Hall (West Yorkshire) and Send (Surrey), introduced tougher controls over prisoners, and following a report by the Prison Department Young Offender Psychology unit in 1984, a new harsher, standard regime was introduced to all detention centres.[41] However, the two original 'short, sharp shock' regimes were diluted. In 1995, in response to a high rate of reconviction among young offenders, Michael Howard, the Home Secretary, announced the creation of two 'boot camps'. One was to be based at Thorn Cross (Cheshire) and the other at the Military Corrective Training Centre at Colchester. Although the publicity emphasised that they were to be based on American military-style models, the units were to offer selected inmates a strict progressive regime with an emphasis on education, work and physical training.[42] The High Intensity Training (HIT) unit opened at Thorn Cross in mid-1996 (Fig 9.43). It is self-contained within the prison with its own staff and reception. The inmates are volunteers and they are accommodated in groups of eight, moving through the programme together. They have a longer active day than other inmates. Although their daily routine includes a brief period of drill, they spend most of their time involved in challenging academic and physical education, community work and outdoor pursuits. Prisoners were also sent to Colchester but it ceased to hold civilian offenders on 31 March 1998.

The Conservative Government also had an impact on the system through administrative changes. In 1993 the Prison Service became a 'next steps' agency, a measure that was expected to separate political policy from the day-to-day management of the prison system.[43] However, the relationship between Michael Howard and the Director General of the new agency, Derek Lewis, led to political involvement in managerial decisions and the Prison Service becoming embroiled in political controversy. A new definition of this relationship was announced on 10 November 1997 in an attempt to clarify areas of responsibility and lines of communication.

Prisons today

The 1990s witnessed the most profound change in the prison system since the 1840s. New initiatives for dealing with crime were prominent in media coverage. However, it is probably the new buildings and the wholesale refurbishment of existing prisons that will leave their mark in the long term. The rapid expansion in accommodation in the 1990s just managed to keep pace with the growth in the prison population although on some days there were few spare beds within the system. Published population trends suggested that the population would continue to rise and that by the beginning of the

Figure 9.40 (below, left) HMP Send, Surrey. General view of RTU unit. Opened May 1997. In some lower-security prisons small timber-framed units (RTUs) have been added. They provide forty bedrooms and can be built in a few weeks. [AA98/08672]

Figure 9.41 (bottom) HMP Weare, Dorset. General view of prison. Opened July 1997. HMP Weare was a temporary emergency measure to deal with the rapidly rising prison population. It provided 400 cells and supporting facilities relatively quickly and cheaply. [BB98/01244]

21st century there would be more overcrowding. This measure of overcrowding is expressed as the number of prisoners being held above the CNA and although this usually leads to large numbers of prisoners sharing a cell, especially in local prisons, no single cells are shared by more than two inmates. The highest level of overcrowding is in local prisons and in combined local prisons and remand centres, which are usually located in older buildings on urban sites. These usually have the fewest educational and recreational facilities and limited work opportunities are provided, as prisoners on remand are not obliged to work. The introduction of the nationwide Home Detention Curfew Scheme on 28 January 1999, after earlier local experiments, is expected to reduce the prison population.

In spite of continuing overcrowding there has been a general improvement in the physical conditions in prisons. However, this seems to have highlighted the other problems facing the prison system. Sir David Ramsbotham, HM Chief Inspector of Prisons, in his 1995–6 report stated that: 'The most severe problems facing the Prison Service are shortage of money, and the danger signs that overcrowding and the associated evil of inactivity, are doing real damage to all the progress that has been made over the past 4–5 years.'[46] Between 1994 and 1998 the average number of hours spent weekly by each inmate on constructive activity declined from 26.2 to 23, and the time spent in education dropped from 1.8 hours in June 1995 to 1.5 hours by mid-1997. These are two measurable effects of the combination of the rising prison population and budget cuts. Nevertheless, *prisons throughout the country are running* offence-related programmes including the Sex Offender Treatment Programme and courses in thinking skills, reasoning and rehabilitation. The new emphasis on 'What works' rather than 'Prison works' stresses challenging offending behaviour, and provides researched programmes to do this. The therapeutic regime at HMP Grendon has demonstrated its success and a smaller unit has been established at Gartree. The DCMF prison at Marchington will include a 200-place therapeutic community, a reaffirmation of the efficacy of this approach. More than forty types of vocational course, ranging from beauty therapy and braille to tiling and welding, offer training which could lead to prisoners' regular

Figure 9.42 (opposite) HMP Weare, Dorset. Detail of prison. Opened July 1997. [AA98/00342]

Figure 9.43 (left) HMYOI Thorn Cross, Cheshire. Interior of cell in HIT unit. Opened 1996. [AA97/04000]

Figure 9.44 (below) HMRC and YOI Moorland, South Yorkshire. Catering course. This course provides training in restaurant management, cooking and waiting. [AA97/07030]

Figure 9.45 (opposite) HMP Dartmoor, Devon. Welding. Today several workshops produce security bars and gates for use in prisons. [AA96/06265]

Figure 9.46 (far left) HMP Downview, Surrey. Hairdressing course. [AA98/02719]

Figure 9.47 (near left) HMP Featherstone, Staffordshire. Art class. [AA96/06200]

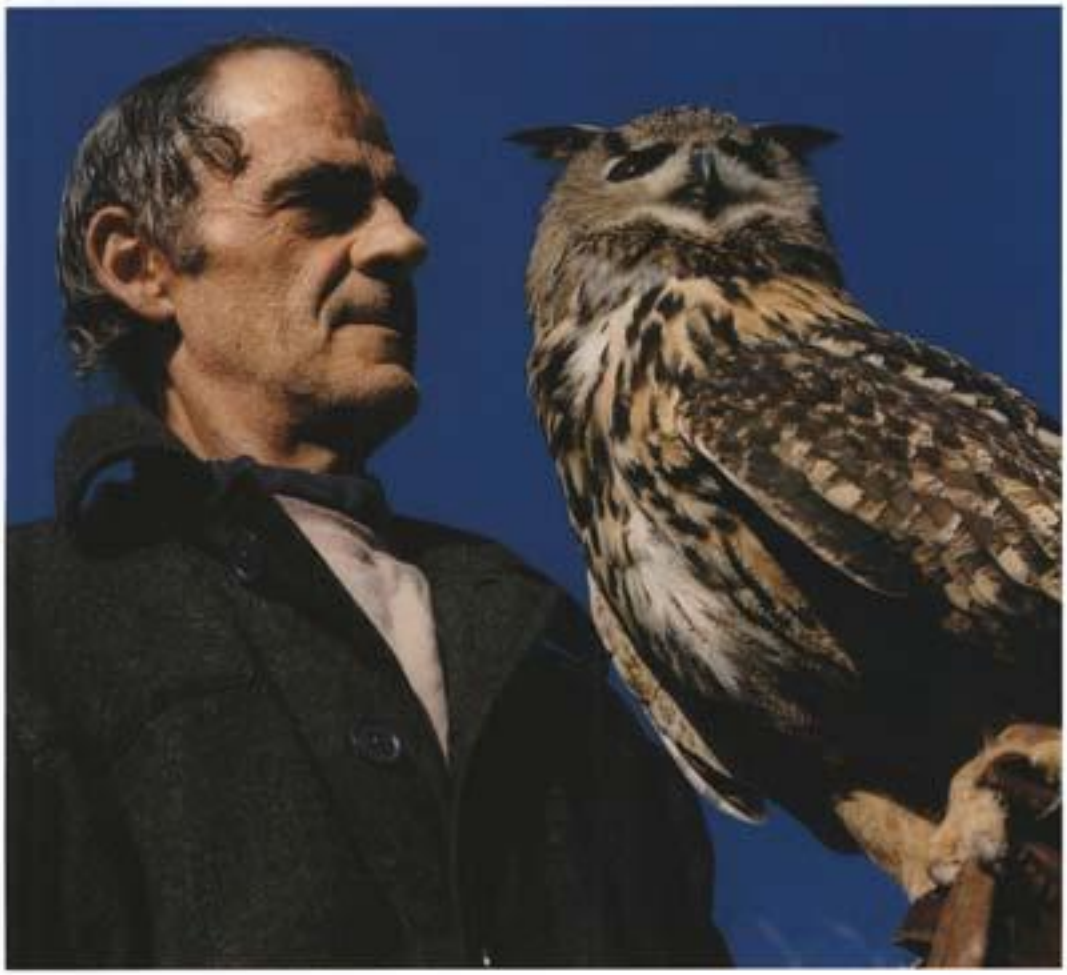


Figure 9.48 HMP Featherstone, Staffordshire. Jim and Bert. Jim and an officer have established a sanctuary for rescued birds of prey. They also hatch eggs seized from collectors by the police and rear the birds. Bert is a European eagle owl. [AA96/06205]

Figure 9.49
'The convict nursery at Brixton'. Children unfortunately have accompanied their mothers to prison for hundreds of years. By the middle of the 19th century special nurseries were established in a number of prisons. [From Mayhew and Binny 1862; BB97/09675]

employment on their release (Figs 9.44, 9.45 and 9.46). Education departments in each prison also offer classes ranging from basic literacy to Open University courses and the Koestler Awards Scheme acts as a strong stimulus for the creative arts in prison (Figs 9.47 and 9.48).

Cuts in the Prison Service's budget and the rising prison population have also meant that most inmates are forced to spend longer periods in their cells. During this survey the nature of the cell has undergone a profound change with the introduction of volumetric testing reducing the amount of property that can be held in cells.[45] Visually, the other profound change has been the introduction of toilets and washbasins into cells. Although this avoids the indignity of slopping-out, the sharing of cells means that full privacy is not possible. Special facilities are also provided at some prisons for particular groups of inmates. One wing of HMP Kingston has been altered to house older inmates with mobility problems, while women with young children are accommodated in mother-and-baby units at Holloway, Styal, New Hall and Askham Grange. The presence of children and their paraphernalia means that these units have a unique atmosphere. Although this might seem like a modern idea, Brixton House of Correction had a nursery in the 1850s while invalids were accommodated in special convict prisons in the second half of the 19th century (Fig 9.49).

Fenner Brockway wrote in the *Socialist Review* in December 1926 that:

> The object of penal reformers should be not to reform the prison system, but to abolish it. ... To demand the abolition of the prison system is not to use merely a rhetorical phrase. It is a practical policy. Thirty years ago the prison population was 30,000. Before the war it was 16,000. To-day it is 10,000. The figure has fallen because alternative methods to imprisonment have been adopted. There is no reason these methods should not be extended until the necessity for prisons disappear.[46]

In the year 2002, with a prison population of nearly 70,000, it is difficult to conceive of a time when prisons will be abolished. They are expensive features in our society and are likely to remain so for the foreseeable future.

Gazetteer of Prisons

The gazetteer records current prisons as at 1998 and also includes a select list of former prisons documented during the project. The numbers in the final column refer to files held in the NMR at the NMRC, Swindon.

Current Prisons

Name	*Location*	*Grid Reference (NGR)*	*NMR File No.*
HMP Acklington	East Chevington, Northumberland	NU 231 002	93900
HMP Albany	Newport, Isle of Wight	SZ 490 904	93753
HMP Aldington	Aldington, Kent	TR 059 358	93899
HMP & YOI Altcourse	Higher Lane, Fazakerley, Liverpool, Merseyside	SJ 380 965	93886
HMP Ashwell	Ashwell, Leicestershire	SK 868 114	93868
HMP Askham Grange	Askham Richard, North Yorkshire	SE 539 480	93866
HMYOI Aylesbury	Bierton Road, Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire	SP 826 144	93732
HMP Bedford	St Loyes Street, Bedford, Bedfordshire	TL 048 501	93790
HMP Belmarsh	Western Way, Thamesmead, Woolwich, Greater London	TQ 445 792	93760
HMP Birmingham	Winson Green Road, Birmingham, West Midlands	SK 043 884	93745
HMP Blakenhurst	Hewell Lane, Tutnall and Cobley, Worcestershire	SP 065 697	93852
HMP Blantyre House	Goudhurst, Tunbridge Wells, Kent	TQ 753 401	93922
HMP Blundeston	Blundeston, Suffolk	TM 515 966	93822
HMRC & YOI Brinsford	New Road, Featherstone, Staffordshire	SO 923 053	93873
HMP Bristol	19 Cambridge Road, Horfield, Bristol	ST 590 759	93741
HMP Brixton	Jebb Avenue, Brixton, Lambeth, Greater London	TQ 304 743	90880
HMP Brockhill	Hewell Lane, Tutnall and Cobley, Worcestershire	SP 010 696	93804
HMP Buckley Hall	Buckley Hall Road, Rochdale, Greater Manchester	SD 905 153	93885
HMP Bullingdon	Arncott, Oxfordshire	SP 625 168	93839
HMP & YOI Bullwood Hall	Rayleigh, Essex	TQ 826 915	93898
HMP Camp Hill	Clissold Road, Newport, Isle of Wight	SZ 485 905	93754
HMP Canterbury	46 Longport, Canterbury, Kent	TR 157 587	93755
HMP Cardiff	Knox Road, Cardiff	ST 190 764	93927
HMYOI Castington	East Chevington, Northumberland	NU 235 005	93901
HMP Channings Wood	Ogwell, Devon	SX 830 695	93841
HMP Chelmsford	Springfield Road, Chelmsford, Essex	TQ 718 071	93738
HMP Coldingley	Shaftesbury Road, Bisley, Surrey	SU 942 590	93739
HMP Cookham Wood	Rochester, Kent	TQ 736 657	93897
HMP Dartmoor	Princetown, Lydford, Devon	SX 586 741	92318
HMYOI Deerbolt	Bowes Road, Barnard Castle, County Durham	NZ 041 164	93902
HMP Doncaster	off North Bridge, Marshgate, Doncaster, South Yorkshire	SE 567 035	93824
HMP Dorchester	7 North Square, Dorchester, Dorset	SY 692 909	90943
HMYOI Dover	The Citadel, Western Heights, Dover, Kent	TR 304 403	93816
HMP Downview	Sutton Lane, Reigate, Surrey	TQ 263 613	93896
HMP & YOI Drake Hall	Eccleshall, Staffordshire	SJ 838 314	93856
HMP Durham	Old Elvet, Durham, County Durham	NZ 278 422	93746
HMP & YOI East Sutton Park	East Sutton, Kent	TQ 828 495	93815
HMP Eastwood Park	Falfield, Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire	ST 676 930	93747
HMP Elmley	Eastchurch, Kent	TQ 984 698	93895
HMP Erlestoke	Erlestoke, Wiltshire	ST 970 540	93756
HMP Everthorpe	North Cave, East Riding of Yorkshire	SE 901 311	93827
HMP Exeter	New North Road, Exeter, Devon	SX 920 932	93840
HMP Featherstone	New Road, Featherstone, Staffordshire	SJ 924 054	93846
HMYOI & RC Feltham	Bedfont Road, Feltham, Greater London	TQ 087 725	93764
HMP Ford	Arundel, West Sussex	TQ 003 027	93757
HMP Foston Hall	Uttoxeter Road, Foston and Scropton, Derbyshire	SK 186 316	93814
HMP Frankland	Brasside, Framwellgate Moor, Durham	NZ 290 457	93904
HMP Full Sutton	Moor Lane, Full Sutton, East Riding of Yorkshire	SE 745 545	93905
HMP Garth	Ulnes Walton Lane, Ulnes Walton, Lancashire	SD 501 205	93872
HMP Gartree	Leicester Road, Lubenham, Leicestershire	SP 707 892	93883
HMYOI Glen Parva	Tigers Road, Wigston, Leicester, Leicestershire	SP 580 988	93862
HMP Gloucester	Barrack Square, Gloucester, Gloucestershire	SO 828 185	88880
HMP Grendon	Grendon Underwood, Buckinghamshire	SP 683 225	93829

Name	*Location*	*Grid Reference (NGR)*	*NMR File No.*
HMYOI Guys Marsh	Shaftesbury, Dorset	ST 848 206	93894
Haslar Holding Centre	Dolphin Way, Gosport, Hampshire	SU 615 982	93921
HMYOI Hatfield	Thorne Road, Hatfield, South Yorkshire	SE 676 106	93906
HMP Haverigg	Millom Without, Cumbria	SD 140 790	93870
HMP Hewell Grange	Hewell Park, Tutnall and Cobley, Worcestershire	SP 006 690	93748
HMP High Down	Sutton Lane, Reigate, Surrey	TQ 259 615	93893
HMP Highpoint	Hundon, Suffolk	TL 720 518 & TL 721 522	93907
HMP & YOI Hindley	Gibson Street, Hindley, Greater Manchester	SD 618 026	93847
HMP & YOI Hollesley Bay Colony	Hollesley, Suffolk	TM 370 445	93821
HMP Holloway	Parkhurst Road, Holloway, Islington , Greater London	TQ 302 855	93762
HMP Holme House	Holme House Road, Middlesborough, Cleveland	NZ 457 206	93908
HMP Hull	Hedon Road, Kingston-upon-Hull	TA 124 294	93826
HMYOI Huntercombe	Nuffield, Oxfordshire	SU 611 881	93909
HMP Kingston	Milton Road, Portsmouth, Hampshire	SU 659 008	93735
HMP Kirkham	Kirkham, Lancashire	SD 420 315	93910
HMP Kirklevington Grange	Kirklevington, Cleveland	NZ 430 111	93911
HMP Lancaster	The Castle, Lancaster, Lancashire	SD 474 619	93737
HMYOI Lancaster Farms	Stone Row Head, Far Moor Lane, Lancaster, Lancashire	SD 495 623	93848
HMP Latchmere House	Church Road, Richmond-upon-Thames, Greater London	TQ 186 714	93923
HMP Leeds	Armley, Leeds, West Yorkshire	SE 278 332	92347
HMP Leicester	Welford Road, Leicester, Leicestershire	SK 592 035	93805
HMP Lewes	Brighton Road, Lewes, East Sussex	TQ 403 100	90980
HMP Leyhill	Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire	ST 693 926	93749
HMP Lincoln	Greetwell Road, Lincoln, Lincolnshire	SK 990 719	88644
HMP Lindholme	Bawtry Road, Hatfield, South Yorkshire	SE 678 068	95649
HMP Littlehey	Perry, Cambridgeshire	TL 153 660	93912
HMP Liverpool	68 Hornby Road, Walton, Liverpool, Merseyside	SJ 356 961	39872
HMP Long Lartin	Honeybourne, Worcestershire	SP 101 456	93810
HMYOI Lowdham Grange	Lowdham, Nottinghamshire	SK 646 467	93884
HMRC Low Newton	Brasside, Framwellgate Moor, County Durham	NZ 286 457	93913
HMP Maidstone	County Road, Maidstone, Kent	TQ 762 563	90993
HMP Manchester	Southall Street, Manchester, Greater Manchester	SJ 836 997	93806
HMRC & YOI Moorland	Bawtry Road, Hatfield, South Yorkshire	SE 685 062	93914
HMP Morton Hall	Swinderby, Lincolnshire	SK 888 642	93915
HMP The Mount	Molyneux Avenue, Bovingdon, Hertfordshire	TL 010 041	93916
HMP & YOI New Hall	Dial Wood, Flockton, West Yorkshire	SE 257 156	93727
HMRC Northallerton	East Road, Northallerton, North Yorkshire	SE 373 937	93865
HMP North Sea Camp	Fishtoft, Lincolnshire	TF 377 400	93828
HMP Norwich	Mousehold, Norwich, Norfolk	TM 245 095	93835
HMP Nottingham	Perry Road, Nottingham, Nottinghamshire	SK 567 435	93811
HMYOI Onley	Barby, Northamptonshire	SP 514 703	93859
HMP Parc	Heol Hopcyn John, Bridgend, Mid Glamorgan	SS 917 826	93882
HMP Parkhurst	Newport, Isle of Wight	SZ 500 907	92319
HMP Pentonville	Caledonian Road, Islington, Greater London	TQ 306 846	92321
HMYOI Portland	The Grove, Portland, Dorset	SY 703 723	90954
HMP & YOI Prescoed	Coed-y-Paen, Pontypool, Gwent	SO 347 990	93926
HMP Preston	2 Ribbleton Lane, Preston, Lancashire	SD 547 297	93750
HMP Ranby	Babworth, Nottinghamshire	SK 668 809	93917
HMRC Reading	Forbury Road, Reading, Berkshire	SU 720 735	90984
HMP Risley	Warrington Road, Risley, Croft, Cheshire	SJ 643 936	93854
HMP Rochester	Rochester, Kent	TQ 734 661	93817
HMP Send	Ripley Road, Ripley, Surrey	TQ 054 537	93924
HMP Shepton Mallet	Cornhill, Shepton Mallet, Somerset	ST 621 435	29211
HMP Shrewsbury	The Dana, Shrewsbury, Shropshire	SJ 496 129	93812
HMP Spring Hill	Grendon Underwood, Buckinghamshire	SP 685 221	93830
HMP Stafford	54 Gaol Road, Stafford, Staffordshire	SJ 922 238	93752
HMP Standford Hill	Church Road, Eastchurch, Kent	TQ 981 703	93819
HMP Stocken	Stocken Hall Road, Stretton, Rutland	SK 960 176	93860
HMYOI Stoke Heath	Stoke-upon-Tern, Shropshire	SJ 650 303	93853
HMP & YOI Styal	Wilmslow, Cheshire	SJ 841 825	102123

Name	*Location*	*Grid Reference (NGR)*	*NMR File No.*
HMP Sudbury	Sudbury, Derbyshire	SK 159 330	93813
HMP Swaleside	Eastchurch, Kent	TQ 981 703	93818
HMP Swansea	Oystermouth Road, Swansea, West Glamorgan	SS 651 925	90944
HMYOI Swinfen Hall	Swinfen and Packington, Staffordshire	SK 135 062	93869
HMYOI Thorn Cross	Anley Road, Appleton, Cheshire	SJ 642 838	93849
HMP Usk	29 Maryport Street, Usk, Gwent	SO 378 004	93925
HMP The Verne	Portland, Dorset	SY 692 736	93953
HMP Wakefield	Love Lane, Wakefield, West Yorkshire	SE 325 209	93722
HMP Wandsworth	Heathfield Road, Wandsworth, Greater London	TQ 268 739	91151
HMP Wayland	Griston, Norfolk	TL 939 996	93918
HMP Wealstun	Wetherby, West Yorkshire	SE 442 468	93919
HMP Weare	Portland, Dorset	SY 694 744	93892
HMP Wellingborough	Doddington Road, Wellingborough, Northamptonshire	SP 895 660	93864
HMYOI Werrington	Werrington, Staffordshire	SP 942 472	93855
HMYOI Wetherby	York Road, Wetherby, West Yorkshire	SE 415 494	93920
HMP Whatton	Cromwell Road, Aslockton, Nottinghamshire	SK 733 394	93861
HMP Whitemoor	Longhill Road, March, Cambridgeshire	TL 412 993	93823
HMP Winchester	Romsey Road, Winchester, Hampshire	SU 473 295	93730
HMP Wolds	North Cave, East Riding of Yorkshire	SE 905 314	93825
HMP Woodhill	Tattenhoe St, Milton Keynes, Buckinghamshire	SP 822 357	93724
HMP Wormwood Scrubs	PO Box 757, Du Cane Road, Hammersmith and Fulham, Greater London	TQ 222 813	93763
HMP Wymott	Ulnes Walton Lane, Ulnes Walton, Lancashire	SD 505 205	93871

Select List of Former Prisons (extant and demolished)

Name	*Location*	*Grid Reference (NGR)*	*NMR File No.*
Abingdon Gaol	Sports Centre, Bridge Street, Abingdon, Oxfordshire	SU 498 970	93740
Aylesbury County Gaol & House of Correction	Market Place, Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire	SP 819 136	93731
Bath Old Gaol	Grove Street, Bath	ST 753 653	93928
Beaumaris County Gaol	Beaumaris, Anglesey	SH 604 750	93887
Bedford County Gaol & House of Correction	High Street, Bedford, Bedfordshire	TL 051 498	93838
Beverley House of Correction	Molescroft Road, East Riding of Yorkshire	TA 026 402	93929
Bodmin County Gaol	Berrycombe Road, Bodmin, Cornwall	SX 064 674	90945
Boston Borough Gaol	Market Place, Boston, Lincolnshire	TF 321 447	93778
Boston Borough Gaol	St John's Road, Boston, Lincolnshire	TF 325 439	93778
Bristol, Wine Street Prison	Wine Street, Bristol	ST 588 731	90991
Bristol County Gaol	Cumberland Basin, Bristol	ST 585 721	90988
Buckingham Old Gaol	Market Hill, Buckingham, Buckinghamshire	SP 695 340	93954
Bury St Edmunds County Gaol	The Fort, 13 Sicklemere Road, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk	TL 863 631	93774
Cambridge County Gaol	Castle Street, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire	TL 445 593	93773
Cambridge Town Gaol	Parker's Piece, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire	TL 456 580	93776
Carlisle County Gaol	English Street, Carlisle, Cumbria	NY 40 55	93932
Carlisle Reformatory	Brampton Road, Carlisle, Cumbria	NY 402 570	93933
Chatham Convict Prison	St Mary's Island, Chatham, Kent	TQ 76 70	93891
Chattenden Convict Prison	Chattenden, Kent	TQ 75 72	93890
Chelmsford County Gaol & House of Correction	Moulsham Street, Chelmsford, Essex	TQ 709 065	93795
Chester Castle County Gaol	Chester, Cheshire	SJ 404 656	93800
City House of Correction	Parkhurst Road, Holloway, Islington, Greater London	TQ 302 855	93765
Clerkenwell House of Correction	Clerkenwell Close, Islington, Greater London	TQ 315 823	(none)
Coldbath Fields House of Correction	Clerkenwell, Islington, Greater London	TQ 311 823	93820
Derby County Gaol & House of Correction	South Street, Derby, Derbyshire	SK 342 363	93791
Devizes Bridewell	Bridewell Street, Devizes, Wiltshire	SU 006 612	90989
Devizes County Gaol	Bath Road, Devizes, Wiltshire	ST 993 614	93720

Name	*Location*	*Grid Reference (NGR)*	*NMR File No.*
Dorchester former prisons	High East Street, Dorchester, Dorset	SY 69 90	90941
Dymchurch, proposed gaol	Dymchurch, Kent	TR 10 29	93809
Exeter County Gaol & House of Correction	New North Road, Exeter, Devon	SX 920 932	93850
Finnamore Wood Camp	Frieth Road, Great Marlow, Buckinghamshire	SU 816 893	93903
Fisherton Anger County Gaol & House of Correction	Salisbury, Wiltshire	SU 135 304	93723
Folkingham House of Correction	Billingborough Road, Folkingham, Lincolnshire	TF 074 334	93779
Fordwich Town Hall	King Street, Kent	TR 180 597	93874
Fulham Refuge	Burlington Lodge, Rigault Road, Hammersmith and Fulham, Greater London	TQ 244 761	93888
Great Yarmouth Tollhouse	Tollhouse Street, Great Yarmouth, Norfolk	TG 524 072	77222
Guildford former Gaol	Guildford, Surrey	SU 998 489	39174
Guildford Gaol pre-1820	Quarry Street, Guildford, Surrey	SU 996 494	90990
Hereford County Gaol & House of Correction	Commercial Road, Hereford, Herefordshire	SO 514 402	93792
Hexham Manor Office	Hallgate, Hexham, Northumberland	NY 937 641	93952
Horsham County Gaol	East Street, Horsham, West Sussex	TQ 174 304	93726
Horsley Priory	Horsley, Gloucestershire	ST 837 979	84675
Huntingdon County Gaol	27–9 St Peter's Road, Huntingdon, Cambridgeshire	TL 235 727	93766
Ilchester County Gaol & House of Correction	Northover, Ilchester, Somerset	ST 522 228	93851
Ipswich County Gaol & House of Correction	St Helen's Street, Ipswich, Suffolk	TM 168 444	93767
Ipswich Borough Gaol	Rope Walk, Ipswich, Suffolk	TM 169 444	93768
King's Lynn Gaol	Saturday Market, King's Lynn, Norfolk	TF 619 206	93940
Kingston upon Hull Borough Gaol	Myton Gate, Kingston upon Hull	TA 10 28	93789
Kingston upon Hull Borough Gaol	Kingston Street, Kingston upon Hull	TA 095 282	93781
Kirkdale County Gaol & House of Correction	North Dingle Lane, Liverpool, Merseyside	SJ 350 936	93834
Kirton-in-Lindsey House of Correction	Queen Street, Kirton-in-Lindsey, Lincolnshire	SK 935 987	93782
Knutsford County Gaol & House of Correction	Toft Street, Knutsford, Cheshire	SJ 586 037	93793
Leicester County Gaol & House of Correction	High Cross Street/Freeschool Lane, Leicester, Leicestershire	SK 584 045	93831
Leicester Borough Gaol & House of Correction	High Cross Street/St. John's Lane, Leicester, Leicestershire	SK 583 048	93832
Leicester Bridewell	Infirmary Square, Leicester, Leicestershire	SK 58 03	93833
Lewes House of Correction	North Street, Lewes, East Sussex	TQ 416 105	90979
Lincoln Castle County Gaol	Lincoln, Lincolnshire	SK 975 718	93794
Lincoln City Gaol	Lindum Road, Lincoln, Lincolnshire	SK 981 716	93942
Lingfield Lockup (The Cage)	Lingfield, Surrey.	TQ 385 436	93875
Littledean Gaol	Littledean, Gloucestershire	SO 674 138	76967
Liverpool Old Gaol	Water Street, Liverpool, Merseyside	SJ 34 90	93743
Liverpool Borough Gaol	Great Howard Street, Liverpool, Merseyside	SJ 339 914	93742
Louth House of Correction	Louth, Lincolnshire	TF 32 87	93783
Lydford Tower	Lydford, Devon	SX 587 737	93876
Marlborough Bridewell	Marlborough, Wiltshire	SU 185 688	93729
Millbank Penitentiary	Millbank, Westminster, Greater London	TQ 301 786	93801
Morpeth Old Gaol	26–8 Bridge Street, Morpeth, Northumberland	NZ 198 859	93877
Morpeth County Gaol	The Court House, Castle Bank, Morpeth, Northumberland	NZ 202 856	79027
Newgate Gaol	Newgate Street/Old Bailey, City of London, Greater London	TQ 31 81	93775
Northleach House of Correction (later Northleach Gaol)	Cotswold Countryside Collection, Fosseway, Northleach, Gloucestershire	SP 109 149	93721
Norwich Castle County Gaol	Norwich Castle Museum, Norwich, Norfolk	TG 231 085	93769
Norwich City Gaol	St Giles Street, Norwich, Norfolk	TG 229 085	93770
Norwich City Gaol & House of Correction	St Giles's Gate, Norwich, Norfolk	TG 223 085	93771

Name	*Location*	*Grid Reference (NGR)*	*NMR File No.*
Nottingham County Gaol	Galleries of Justice, High Pavement, Nottingham, Nottinghamshire	SK 575 396	61372
former HMP Oxford	New Road, Oxford, Oxfordshire	SP 509 063	90918
Peterborough County Gaol	*Thorpe Road, Peterborough, Cambridgeshire*	*TL 18 98*	*93878*
Petworth House of Correction	Rosemary Lane, Petworth, West Sussex	SU 978 214	90981
Portsmouth Convict Prison	Frederick Street, Anchor Gate Terrace, Portsmouth, Hampshire	SU 633 007	93736
Portsmouth Gaol/White House	High Street, Portsmouth, Hampshire	SZ 633 993	93733
Portsmouth Borough Gaol	Penny Street, Portsmouth, Hampshire	SZ 635 994	93734
HMRC Pucklechurch	Pucklechurch, Bath and North-east Somerset	ST 695 760	93751
Reading Borough Bridewell	Friar Street, Reading, Berkshire	SU 712 736	90985
Reading County Gaol	Forbury Road, Reading, Berkshire	SU 720 735	90983
Reading County Gaol	Castle Street, Reading, Berkshire	SU 713 733	90982
Ripon Gaol and House of Correction	St Marygate, Ripon, North Yorkshire	SE 316 713	93879
Rotherham Bridge	Rotherham, South Yorkshire	SK 426 931	93948
Ruthin County Gaol	46 Clwyd Street, Ruthin, Clwyd	SJ 122 582	93951
Sandwich Town Gaol	St Peter's Street, Sandwich, Kent	TR 332 582	93880
Skirbeck House of Correction	Skirbeck, Lincolnshire	TF 34 42	93784
Southwell House of Correction	Burgage Green Haulage Depot, Southwell, Nottinghamshire	SK 705 543	93796
Spalding House of Correction	Broad Street, Spalding, Lincolnshire	TF 24 22	93785
Spilsby House of Correction	Spilsby, Lincolnshire	TF 40 66	93786
Stafford Forebridge Lockup	Lichfield Road, Stafford, Staffordshire	SJ 928 227	93857
Stamford Borough Gaol	St Mary's Hill, Stamford, Lincolnshire	TF 030 070	93787
Tenterden Borough Gaol	Tenterden, Kent	TQ 88 33	93808
Thetford Old Gaol	4–6 Old Market Street, Thetford, Norfolk	TL 874 827	34766
Twerton Gaol	Stuart Place, Bath	ST 737 646	93986
Wakefield House of Correction	Back Lane, Wakefield, West Yorkshire	SE 325 204	93777
Walsingham House of Correction	Bridewell Street, Little Walsingham, Norfolk	TF 933 369	93836
Warwick County Gaol & House of Correction	Northgate Street, Warwick, Warwickshire	SP 281 650	93797
Warwick House of Correction	Barrack Street/Theatre Street, Warwick, Warwickshire	SP 281 651	93802
Warwick New Prison	Cape Road, Warwick, Warwickshire	SP 277 656	93798
Widnes Bridewell	Pit Lane, Widnes, Cheshire	SJ 517 877	93858
Winchester Bridewell	Winchester, Hampshire	SU 48 31	93759
Winchester County Gaol	Jewry Street, Winchester, Hampshire	SU 478 298	93758
Woking, site of convict depot	Victoria Road, Woking, Surrey	SU 974 585	93725
Woodbridge House of Correction	16–24 Theatre Street, Woodbridge, Suffolk	TM 268 492	93837
Worcester County Gaol	Worcester, Worcestershire	SO 847 553	93799
Worcester City Gaol	Friar Street, Worcester, Worcestershire	SO 852 546	93803
Wymondham House of Correction	4 Norwich Road, Wymondham, Norfolk	TG 110 010	93995
Yaxley POW Camp (Norman Cross)	Yaxley, Cambridgeshire	TL 160 911	93744

Prisons in England and Wales opened 1946–1998

The prisons in this list were all operational at the end of 1998. The list records their opening dates and dates of construction of later wings etc where appropriate.

Name	*Dates*
HMP Acklington	Opened 1972. New wings opened 1975. Two new house blocks built mid-1980s
HMP Albany	Built 1963–7
HMP Aldington	Opened 1947
HMP & YOI Altcourse	Opened 1997
HMP Ashwell	Opened 1955. New block 1970
HMP Askham Grange	Opened 1946
HMP Belmarsh	Opened April 1991
HMP Blakenhurst	Opened May 1993
HMP Blantyre House	Opened 1954
HMP Blundeston	Built 1961–3. New blocks built 1972–5
HMRC & YOI Brinsford	Built 1986–91
HMP Brockhill	Opened 1965
HMP Buckley Hall	Opened 1953. Closed 1989. Rebuilt and reopened in 1995
HMP Bullingdon	Opened March 1992. DOW VI block opened 1997
HMP & YOI Bullwood Hall	Opened May 1962
HMYOI Castington	Opened January 1987
HMP Channings Wood	Built 1972–81
HMP Coldingley	Opened May 1969
HMP Cookham Wood	Opened 1980
HMYOI Deerbolt	Opened 1973. Building work continued until mid-1980s
HMP Doncaster	Opened June 1994
HMYOI Dover	Opened February 1953. New blocks added in 1963 and 1973. DOW I block opened 1990–1
HMP Downview	Opened June 1989
HMP & YOI Drake Hall	Opened June 1958
HMP & YOI East Sutton Park	Opened 1946
HMP Eastwood Park	Opened March 1968. New block opened October 1974. Closed and rebuilt 1993–6
HMP Elmley	Opened February 1992
HMP Erlestoke	Opened July 1962. New wing built 1972–6. Triangular house block opened October 1984. Category D unit opened 1995
HMP Everthorpe	Opened June 1958. DOW VI block built 1996
HMP Featherstone	Built 1973–6. DOW I block opened 1990–1
HMYOI & RC Feltham	Rebuilt 1975–88
HMP Ford	Opened March 1960
HMP Foston Hall	Opened 1956
HMP Frankland	Initially designed 1964. Project revived 1976. Opened briefly in 1980 as temporary prison. Opened April 1982. New wing opened 1998
HMP Full Sutton	Initial design 1965–6. Built 1982–7. Two DOW II blocks opened 1990–1
HMP Garth	Built 1984–8. DOW VI block and RTU opened 1997
HMP Gartree	Built 1962–6
HMYOI Glen Parva	Partly completed 1974. Finished 1980. Two DOW I blocks opened 1990–1
HMP Grendon	Built 1959–62
HMYOI Guys Marsh	Opened 1962. Rebuilt with triangular house blocks in early 1980s. Two triangular house blocks added early 1990s. DOW VI block opened 1997
Haslar Holding Centre	Opened 1962
HMYOI Hatfield	Opened 1950. Rebuilt 1979–87
HMP Haverigg	Opened 1967. RTU and DOW VI block opened 1996
HMP Hewell Grange	Opened 1946
HMP High Down	Opened August 1992
HMP Highpoint	Opened 1977. New wing opened 1985. Two DOW II blocks opened 1991–2
HMP & YOI Hindley	Opened 1961. Two DOW II blocks opened 1996
HMP Holloway	Rebuilt 1970–83
HMP Holme House	Opened May 1992. DOW I unit added later. DOW VI block added 1997
HMYOI Huntercombe	Opened 1946. New blocks built mid-1980s. DOW VI block opened 1998
HMP Kirkham	Opened 1962. Two RTUs opened 1996

Name	*Dates*
HMP Kirklevington Grange	Opened 1963. New wings opened 1976. Two RTUs opened 1997
HMYOI Lancaster Farms	Opened March 1993. New house block opened 1996
HMP Latchmere House	Opened 1946
HMP Leyhill	Opened 1946. New blocks built mid-1980s.
HMP Lindholme	Opened 1985
HMP Littlehey	Opened 1988. DOW I block opened 1989–90. RTU opened 1997
HMP Long Lartin	Opened 1971
HMRC Low Newton	Opened 1965. Extended in 1975 and 1979
HMRC & YOI Moorland	Opened July 1991. DOW VI block opened 1998
HMP Morton Hall	Opened 1958. Closed 1975–85
HMP The Mount	Opened March 1988. Two DOW VI blocks opened 1995
HMYOI Onley	Opened 1968. New wing added 1972–6. DOW I block opened 1990–1. DOW VI block opened 1997
HMP Parc	Opened 1997
HMP Ranby	Opened 1971. A wing and communal facilities built 1985–8. DOW IV block built early 1990s. DOW VI block opened 1998
HMP Risley	Opened 1965. Three DOW IV blocks opened 1992. Three-storeyed DOW VI block opened 1996
HMP Send	Opened 1962
HMP Spring Hill	Opened 1953
HMP Standford Hill	Opened 1950 as HMP Eastchurch. Renamed Standford Hill 1975. Two wings opened 1986
HMP Stocken	Built 1982–5. DOW II block opened 1990–1. RTU completed 1997
HMYOI Stoke Heath	Opened 1964. Wing added 1972–5. Two DOW VI blocks added 1997
HMP & YOI Styal	Opened 1962. DOW VI block opened 1998
HMP Sudbury	Opened 1948. Partially rebuilt late 1970s and early 1980s
HMP Swaleside	Opened August 1988. DOW VI block opened 1997
HMYOI Swinfen Hall	Opened 1963
HMYOI Thorn Cross	Opened 1960 as Appleton Thorn. Closed 1981. Reopened as Thorn Cross in 1985
HMP The Verne	Opened 1949. New wing built 1972–5
HMP Wayland	Opened February 1985. DOW II block opened 1990–1. RTU opened 1997
HMP Wealstun	Amalgamation of Rudgate (opened 1959) and Thorp Arch (opened 1965). DOW VI block added 1996
HMP Weare	Moored 1997
HMP Wellingborough	Opened 1964. New wing built 1972–5
HMYOI Werrington	Opened April 1957. New wings opened 1994 and 1997
HMYOI Wetherby	Opened November 1958. New wings built 1980 and 1985. Two DOW VI blocks opened 1997
HMP Whatton	Opened 1966
HMP Whitemoor	Opened October 1991
HMP Wolds	Opened April 1992
HMP Woodhill	Opened June 1992. DOW I block opened 1996
HMP Wymott	Opened 1979. Two DOW IV blocks built 1994–6

Numbers of Local Prisons in England and Wales 1777-2000

Date	*Number*	*Sources*
1777	244	Howard, first published in RCP 1878, 36
1812	317	Neild 1812
1819	335	*PP* 1819 (135) XVII, 371
1833	291	*PP* 1833 (549) XXVIII
1837	256	Inspectors' Reports
1850	187	Inspectors' Reports
1862	193	McConville 1981, 368
1864	146	RCP 1878, 36
1867	130/126	RCP 1878, 36; Inspectors' Reports
1877	113/112	RCP 1878, 36; Inspectors' Reports
1878	69/75	RCP 1878, 36; Webb and Webb 1963a, 203
1880	68	McConville 1995, 335
1885	59	Camp 1974, 47
1894	56	Webb and Webb 1963a, 203
1909/10	61	Alford 1909–10
1913	56	RCP 1929, 13
1922	47	Hobhouse and Brockway 1922, 18
1929	31	RCP
1946	40	RCP
1950	64	RCP
1958	73	RCP
1966	104	RPD
2000	135	Information from the Prison Service

APPENDIX 1
Accommodation in Lancashire Prisons 1877–8

1. Accommodation available in 1877–8

	Males		*Females*	
	Certified	*Uncertified*	*Certified*	*Uncertified*
Lancaster County	40	56	100	4
Kirkdale County	396	-	117	-
Preston County	318	68	74	40
Salford County	744	-	315	-
Liverpool Borough	627	-	429	-
Manchester City	554	-	296	-
TOTAL	2679	124	1331	44

Source: *RCP* 1878, 22

2. Summary of accommodation by A B McHardy, October and November 1877

	Male	*Female*		*Male*	*Female*
Lancaster			**Salford**		
new cells	58	-	cells	736	314
good old cells	40	99	punishment cells	31	14
bad cells (debtors)	58	5	reception cells	8	6
punishment cells (good)	4	-			
punishment cells (bad)	3	7	**Liverpool**		
			cells	403	585
Kirkdale			punishment cells	12	18
cells	368	117	infirmary cells	14	14
punishment cells	8	8			
reception & infirmary cells	27	12	**Manchester City**		
double cells	1	1	cells	296	545
			punishment cells	12	25
Preston			padded cells	1	1
new cells	318	68	debtors rooms	1	13
punishment cells	6	4	reception cells	-	5
old cells (unused)	-	63			
old cells (used/heated)	36	-			

Source: Prison Service HQ Lib, McHardy 1877

3. Cells to be received by the Prison Commissioners, 2 and 6 February 1878

Lancaster		**Preston**		**Liverpool**	
cells new & altered	57	cells	386	cells	992
older cells	139	officers' rooms	6	punishment cells	30
stores, etc	3	punishment cells	10	debtors' cells	37
punishment cells	4	old cells	99	infirmary cells	28
old punishment cells	11				
very old cells	63	no. to be received	386	no. to be received	992
		no. to be deducted	-	no. to be deducted	-
no. to be received	196				
no. to be deducted	139	**Salford**		**Manchester City**	
		cells	1052	cells	835
Kirkdale		stores	11	cells with looms	6
cells	486	infirmary cells	8	reception cells	6
stores	3	reception cells	14	padded cell	1
reception cells	25	punishment cells	40	punishment cells	37
infirmary cells	10				
itch cells	4	no. to be received	1066	no. to be received	841
punishment cells	16	no. to be deducted	5	no. to be deducted	-
no. to be received	511				
no. to be deducted	-				

Source: Prison Service HQ Lib, McHardy 1877

4. Settlements made between the Lancashire prison authorities and the Prison Commissioners, 1878

	Admitted by PCs	*Allowed by Sec of State*	*No. required (from 1872–6 survey figures)*	*Surplus (+) or deficit (-)*
Lancaster	196 (out of 1215)	3	921	+153
Kirkdale	486	-		
Preston	389	-		
Liverpool	951 (out of 1056)	73	1062	-38
Manchester	804 (out of 800)			0
Salford	974 (out of 1117)	41	797	+218

Source: Prison Service HQ Lib, RoS 1878

APPENDIX 2
Local Prisons 1878

(For distribution map *see* Fig 6.1)

Number of local prisons in England and Wales, April–August 1878

	1 April 1878	*1 May 1878*	*31 August 1878*
England	99	68[1]	63[2]
Wales	14	8	6
Total	113	76	69

1 Including old Portsmouth Borough prison 2 Including new Portsmouth Borough prison Source: RCP 1878, 6, 7, 20–6, 33–5

Local prisons in England and Wales retained and closed by August 1878 under the 1877 Prison Act

County	*Retained*	*Closed*
Beds	Bedford County Gaol	
Berks	Reading County Gaol	
Bucks	Aylesbury County Gaol	Buckingham Borough Gaol
Cambs	Cambridge County Gaol	Cambridge Borough Gaol
		Ely City Gaol
		Wisbech Town Gaol
Ches	Chester County Gaol	
	Knutsford County Gaol	
Cornwall	Bodmin County Gaol	
Cumb	Carlisle County Gaol	
Derbys	Derby County Gaol	
Devon	Exeter County Gaol	Barnstaple Borough Gaol
	Plymouth Borough Gaol	Devonport Borough Gaol
		Tiverton Borough Gaol
Dorset	Dorchester County Gaol	Poole Town
Durham	Durham County Gaol	
Essex	Chelmsford (Springfield) County Gaol	Ilford County Gaol
Glos	Gloucester County Gaol	Bristol City Bridewell
	Bristol City Common	
Hants	Winchester County Gaol	Portsmouth Borough Gaol*
		Southampton Town Gaol
Hereford	Hereford County Gaol	Hereford City Gaol
Herts	St Albans County Gaol	Hertford County Gaol
Hunts	Huntingdon (Great Stukeley) County Gaol	
Kent	Canterbury County Gaol	Dover Town Gaol
	Maidstone County Gaol	Sandwich Town Gaol
Lancs	Kirkdale County Gaol	
	Lancaster County Gaol	
	Liverpool Borough Gaol	
	Preston County Gaol	
	Manchester (Salford County Gaol)	
	Manchester City (Bellevue)	
Leics	Leicester County Gaol	Leicester Borough Gaol†
Lincs	Lincoln (Lindsey) County Gaol	Lincoln Castle County Gaol
	Spalding County Gaol	Lincoln City Gaol
		Folkingham County Gaol
		Grantham Borough Gaol
		Stamford Borough Gaol
Middx	*Clerkenwell County Gaol*	
	Coldbath Fields County Gaol	
	Holloway	
	Newgate	
	Westminster (Tothill Fields) County Gaol	
Norfolk	Norwich County Gaol	Norwich City Gaol
		Wymondham County Gaol

County	*Retained*	*Closed*
Northants	Northampton County Gaol	Peterborough Liberty Gaol
	Northampton Borough Gaol	
Northumb	Morpeth County Gaol	Berwick Borough Gaol
	Newcastle upon Tyne Borough Gaol	
Notts	Nottingham Town Gaol	Nottingham County Gaol
	Southwell County Gaol	
Oxon	Oxford County Gaol	Oxford City Gaol
Rutland		Oakham County Gaol
Salop	Shrewsbury County Gaol	
Som	Shepton Mallet County Gaol	Bath City Gaol
	Taunton (Wilton) County Gaol	
Staffs	Stafford County Gaol	
Suffolk	Ipswich County Gaol	Bury St Edmunds County Gaol
		Ipswich Borough Gaol†
Surrey	Wandsworth County Gaol	Newington County Gaol
Sussex	Lewes County Gaol	
	Petworth County Gaol	
Warwicks	Birmingham Borough Gaol	
	Warwick County Gaol	
Westmorland	Kendal County Gaol	Appleby County Gaol
Wilts	Devizes County Gaol	
Worcs	Worcester County Gaol	
Yorks	Kingston upon Hull Borough Gaol	Beverley County Gaol
	Leeds Borough Gaol	Ripon Liberty
	Northallerton County Gaol	Scarborough Borough Gaol
	Wakefield County Gaol	
	York County Gaol	
Angl		Beaumaris County Gaol
Brec		Brecon County Gaol‡
Card		Cardigan County Gaol
Carm	Carmarthen County Gaol	
Carn	Carnarvon County Gaol	
Denb	Ruthin County Gaol	
Flin		Mold County Gaol
Glam	Cardiff County Gaol	
	Swansea County Gaol	
Meri		Dolgelly County Gaol
Monm	Usk County Gaol	
Mont		Montgomery County Gaol
Pemb		Haverfordwest County Gaol
Radn		Presteign County Gaol

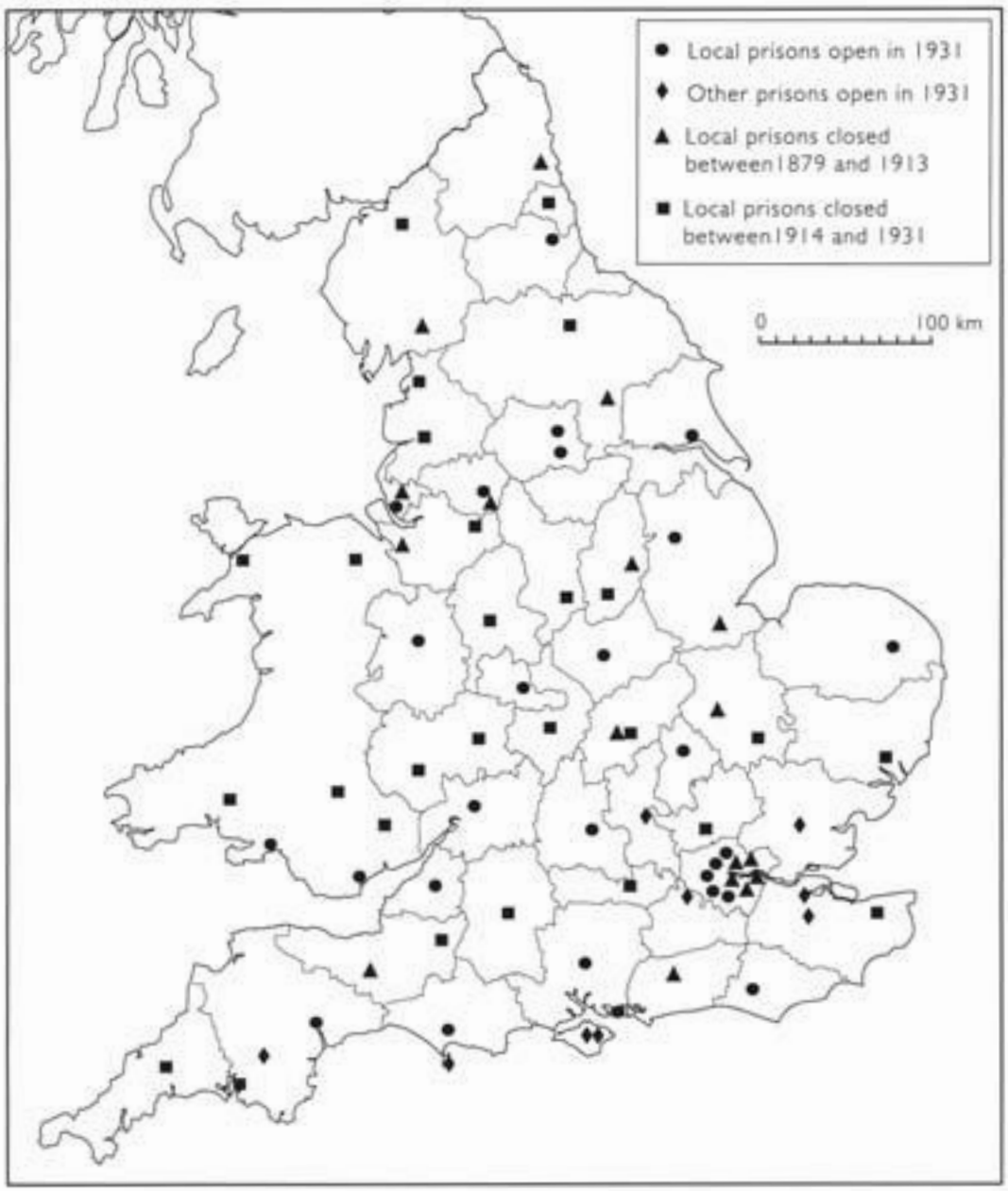
*A new borough prison for Portsmouth opened at Kingston in August 1878

†Ipswich and Leicester borough gaols were amalgamated with their county gaols

‡ Brecon County Gaol closed in 1878 but re-opened in 1880

Source: RCP 1878, 20–6

APPENDIX 3
Local Prison Closures 1878–1931


Local prisons open in 1931
Other prisons open in 1931
Local prisons closed between 1879 and 1913
Local prisons closed between 1914 and 1931
0
100 km

Prison	*Status*	*Closed*
1878–94		
Petworth County Gaol	L	1878–9
Northampton County Gaol	L	1879
Southwell County Gaol	L	1880
Morpeth County Gaol	L	1881
Westminster (Tothill Fields) County Gaol	L	1883
Chester County Gaol	L; M 1881–95	1884
Spalding County Gaol	L	1884
Taunton (Wilton) County Gaol	L	1884
Huntingdon (Great Stukeley) County Gaol	L	1885
Clerkenwell County Gaol	L	1886
Coldbath Fields County Gaol	L	1886
Manchester City (Bellevue)	L	1888
Millbank	NP; C 1843; L 1886	1890
Kirkdale County Gaol	L	1892
Kendal County Gaol	L; M 1895	1894
Source: RCP, passim		
1895–1931		
York County Gaol	L; M 1900–22	1900
Newgate	L	1902
Devizes County Gaol	L	1914
Chelmsford (Springfield) County Gaol	L	1915–30
Hereford County Gaol	L	1915
Knutsford County Gaol	L	1915
Reading County Gaol	L	1915–46
St Albans County Gaol	L	1915
Wakefield County Gaol	L	1915–23
Feltham Borstal Institution	BI 1910	1916–20/1
Bodmin County Gaol	L; N 1887–1922	1916
Brecon County Gaol	L	1916
Cambridge County Gaol	L	1916
Derby County Gaol	L	1916
Lancaster County Gaol	L	1916–55
Lewes County Gaol	L	1916–31
Ruthin County Gaol	L	1916
Stafford County Gaol	L	1916–39
Warwick County Gaol	L	1916
Canterbury County Gaol	L	1922–46
Carlisle County Gaol	L	1922
Carmarthen County Gaol	L	1922
Carnarvon County Gaol	L	1922
Northallerton County Gaol	L	1922–46
Northampton Borough Gaol	L	1922
Usk County Gaol	L	1922–39
Worcester County Gaol	L	1922
Ipswich County Gaol	L	1925
Newcastle upon Tyne Borough Gaol	L	1925
Plymouth Borough Gaol	L	1930
Shepton Mallet County Gaol	L	1930–66
Nottingham Town Gaol	L	1931–2
Portsmouth Borough Gaol	L	1931–3
Preston County Gaol	L	1931–48

Source: RCP 1929, 50; 1930, 60; 1931, app 4, passim

Abbreviations

BI Borstal institution
C Convict
L Local
M Military
N Naval
NP National penitentiary

Notes

Abbreviations

BL	British Library
Gent's Mag	*Gentleman's Magazine*
H of L 1835	Reports from the Select Committee of the House of Lords Appointed to Inquire into the Present State of the Several Gaols and Houses of Correction in England and Wales
Ill Lon News	*The Illustrated London News*
JHofC	House of Commons Journal
JHofL	House of Lords Journal
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
LSE	London School of Economics
NAO	National Audit Office
OAU	Oxford Archaeological Unit
PP	Parliamentary Papers
PRO	Public Record Office
PSA	Property Services Agency
R&S	Copies of all Reports and of Schedules Transmitted to the Secretary of State pursuant to the 24th Section of the 4th Geo. IV c.64 and 14th Section of 5th Geo. IV c.12
RCAHMS	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland
RCP	Reports of the Work on the Prison Commission
RDCP	Reports of the Directors of Convict Prisons
RDMCP	Reports of the Surveyor-General on the Discipline and Management of Convict Prisons
RDMMP	Reports on the Discipline and Management of Military Prisons
RHMCIP	Annual Report of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Prisons
RIP	Reports of the Inspectors of Prisons
RIRS	Reports of the Inspector Appointed to Visit the Reformatory Schools of Great Britain
RO	Record Office
RPD	Report of the Work of the Prison Department 1963–1985/6
RPS	Report of the Work of the Prison Service
RSGP	Reports of the Surveyor-General of Prisons
SIPD	Society for the Improvement of Prison Design
VCH	The Victoria History of the Counties of England

Acts of Parliament

Acts of Parliament relevant to this study are listed in the Bibliography. The date given in the Bibliography is the session date (the Parliamentary year in which the bill became law, now traditionally November through to the following November). The notes also cite the calendar year in which the bill became law.

Introduction

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13 Quoted in Sharpe 1990, 68 n17.
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35 NBR File No. 93438 held in NMR.
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56 Van der Slice 1936–7, 52–3.
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2 Hinde 1951, 21–6.
3 Harding *et al* 1985, 100; Williams 1962, 136.
4 Heath 1963, 90.
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35 18 Geo. III c.17.
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38 Holford 1828, 39; le Breton 1822, 13.
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40 Cambs RO, R55.26.11, 1801 George Byfield design for a new county gaol for Cambs. Drawings signed by Christopher Pemberton and George Brown, dated 17 Mar 1803. They were probably the builders who agreed to carry out the work.
41 *Gent's Mag*, Aug 1801, pl II, 697.
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46 Worcs RO, BA 332 ref 122, plans by George Byfield 1801 and 1802.
47 Worcs RO, Quarter Sessions Order Books, also book containing Orders relating to the New Gaol 1808–11.
48 Worcs RO, Quarter Sessions Order Book VII, 6–7.
49 The 1802 plan states that the prison would hold 121 inmates while the papers regarding Byfield's dispute with the county cite the figure of 120.
50 Worcs RO, Quarter Sessions Order Book VII, 13–14, 375; BA 48 ref 122, papers regarding early 19th-century county gaol at Worcester, box 1.
51 Ibid. The last entry dates from 11 May 1811.
52 Ibid, contract.
53 Centre for Kentish Studies, Q/AGe 1, General Quarter Sessions Order Book in early 19th century.
54 Centre for Kentish Studies, Q/AGe 2, contract between Charles Hedge and the Kent Justices, 15 Jul 1806.
55 Centre for Kentish Studies, Q/AGe 6/1–21, series of architectural drawings of Canterbury County Gaol by George Byfield. The drawings are numbered 1 to 23; original numbers 9 and 12 are missing.
56 Cubitt scheme in Western 1825; le Breton 1822; Holford 1828; Orridge 1819; Bucks RO, Q/AG/61, design for a county gaol by George Ainslie, presented to the SIPD, 1820.
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62 The original design drawings and dozens of detailed contract drawings survive in the Centre for Kentish Studies, Q/GGw Maidstone gaol.
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65 Evans 1982, 310.
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71 Wilson 1822, 46; Aberdeen RO, 1831 Report of the Commissioners of the building being now completed and fit for the reception of prisoners LXXII 121; the block plan is known from the Ordnance Survey map surveyed in 1866 and published in 1871. Aberdeenshire LXXV.II.14.
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73 Wilts RO, A1 509/4, plan of Devizes House of Correction by Ingleman; A1 516/4, Report from the Committee of Aldermen appointed to visit several Gaols in England... London, 1816; A1 514/1, Third Report of the Committee of the SIPD 1821. SIPD 1821, 80. Ingleman 1807a and 1807b; *VCH* 1975 *Wilts x*, 237.
74 Byrne 1989, 128, 132; Mayhew and Binny, 1862, 174; RIP 3(H), 434.
75 Lewis 1851, 33. One is a block plan on display in the mess room, while the other (which is currently in the Works Department) is a 1921 retracing of a 1861 plan. Alford reported that part of the early prison survived in 1904 (Alford 1909–10, VI, 51–3).
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77 W Yorks Archive Service (Wakefield), QD3/386/1–3 scheme by Hartley 1817 and QD3/387 scheme by Hartley 1819.
78 W Yorks Archive Service (Wakefield), QD1/697, scheme for new house of correction at Wakefield by Thomas Wright of Salford 1818.
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80 Prison Service HQ Lib, McHardy 1877, 189–92.
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82 Orridge 1819, 33.
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85 *PP* 1811 (199) III, 567, 585; Bucks RO, Q/AG/Bundle 6, estimates etc by Thomas Safford and 8, plans etc by John Barker and letters to T W Cooper.
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89 Semple 1993, 159.
90 *PP* 1824 (45) XIX, 147, 165–6; *PP* 1824 (104) XIX, 359.
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95 *The Times*, 20 Oct 1842, 5.
96 Hinde 1951, 64, 67.
97 Som RO, Q/AGs 2/2, Q/AGs 2/3, contracts and other papers regarding Shepton Mallet in the early 19th century; Q/AGs 3/2, architectural drawings of Shepton Mallet early 19th century; Q /AGw 2/7, contract for erecting treadwheels with plans 20 Apr 1823 Messrs Stothert of Bath; Q/AGw 2/9, contract 20 Apr 1823 for new treadmill at Wilton.
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99 JHofL LVI, 1824, 409b.
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102 *PP* 1825 (34) XXIII, 567, 590.
103 Duncan 1994, 7, 39, 55.
104 Wandsworth 1852, 33–5.
105 Evans 1982, 299–301.
106 Prison Service HQ Lib, McHardy 1877, 174, 182.
107 Centre for Kentish Studies, Q/AGw8, 1820 design by William Cubitt of a treadwheel.
108 Devon RO, QS 101/2, Bridewell Mill Committee Minute Book, 106/1.
109 Worcs RO, Quarter Sessions Order Book, vol 11, 92b, 102a, 171b, 183b; BA 48 ref 122, papers regarding early 19th-century county gaol at Worcester, bundle 3.
110 Som RO, Q/AGs 2/2, 2/3, contracts and other papers regarding Shepton Mallet in the early 19th century; Torrens 1978, 23–5.
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112 Som RO, Q/AGw 2/7, contract for erecting treadwheels with plans 20 Apr 1823 Messrs Stothert of Bath, and Q/AGw 2/9, contract 20 Apr 1823 for new treadmill at Wilton.
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Chapter 4

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25 Chesterton 1856, 302–3; R&S 1837, 17, 44, 182, 185; 1837–8, 251.
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28 RIP 4(H), xiv; 4(N&E), 152–4; R&S 1837–8, 259; 1839, 47; 1841, 34; 1842, 35.
29 *RIP 3(H), 101.*
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32 RIP 4(S&W), 202; 4(H), xiv; R&S 1839, 130; Salop RO, DP565, Shrewsbury Gaol, drawings for new separate cells, Edward Haycock, 21 Nov 1837; Wilts RO, 1325/36, Hadens of Trowbridge Work Book 1830–8, 155, 159.
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164 H of L 1835, 3, iij–iv.
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Chapter 5

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11 RDMCP 1851, 2; Lyon 1993, 337, 340, 341.
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94 Ibid 1849, 4, 5.
95 Ibid 1869, 13; 1870, 3. *Ill Lon News*, 14 Mar 1868, 262. Bullen 1980, 24–5. PRO, ADM1/6609, Lewes Naval Prison, plan for increased accommodation for naval offenders, 1882; PCOM 7/21, Lewes Naval Prison, closure 1910, plan 1912; ADM 116/1279, Lewes Naval Prison, misc papers including valuation of site 1911–15.
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113 Ibid 1929, 50.

Chapter 6

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3 RCP 1878, 4, 5, 20–6.
4 Prison Service HQ Lib, McHardy 1877.
5 Prison Service HQ Lib, RoS 1878.
6 McConville 1995, 193, 194, citing Bodleian Library, Oxford, Du Cane Papers, Ms Eng Hist c648, f97.
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13 Salop RO, QA/2/3, History of Shrewsbury Gaol from its building in 1796 to its being handed over to the Government on payment of £4,000 to the county in 1880.
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28 RIP 39(S), vii; 41(S), vii–viii. RCP 1882, 50; 1889, 52; 1890, 51. Alford 1909–10, II, 8.
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34 RCP 1885, 50; 1888, 33.
35 Ibid 1879, 5; 1890, 51–2.
36 Ibid 1879, 5.
37 Ibid 1880, 40; 1882, 55; 1885, 50.
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46 RCP 1885, 50. Alford 1909–10, II, 20; III, 37–8, 70, 72.
47 RCP 1885, 50; 1886, 48; 1892, 46. Alford 1909–10, II, 3–5, 27.
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50 Ibid 1879, 53.
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53 Ibid 1883, 48; 14, 1891, 45.
54 Ibid 1890, 53.
55 Ibid 1882, 61; 13, 1890, 53.
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59 8 Edw. VII c.59.
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70 RCP 1903, 52; 1905, 48.
71 Alford 1909–10, I, 78–9.
72 RCP 1908, 40; 1909, 42. Alford 1909–10, III, 38–9.
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77 McConville 1995, 692.
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81 Ibid 1893, 41 and *passim*; Alford 1909–10, *passim*.
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94 Ibid, 49–58, 85–100, 154–63, 244–67. Hobhouse and Brockway 1922, 441–66. Zedner 1991, 219–63; 1995, 355–7.
95 *PP* 1893–4 (C.7008) XVII, 5–9.
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105 RCP 1896, 8–9; 1898, 15–16.
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118 Ibid 1913, 43.
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136 Hereford Lib, photographs of Hereford County Gaol by F C Morgan, 1930, no. 5.
137 Prison Service HQ Lib, RoS 1878, no. 52, later annotation in red ink.
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Chapter 7

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2 Webb and Webb 1963a.
3 Hobhouse and Brockway 1922, v.
4 Brockway 1977, 60–1.
5 RCP 1922, 16, 72–3; Forsythe 1991, 175.
6 Ibid, 175, 179; Neale 1978, 37.
7 Harding *et al* 1985, 232; Forsythe 1991, 179.
8 Grünhut 1948, 118; Forsythe 1991, 176.
9 Ruck (ed) 1951, 23.
10 Ibid, 25.
11 Ibid, 71.
12 Jones and Crones 1977, 4.
13 Hopkins 1930, 8.
14 RCP 1929, 19.
15 Selby 1980, 6–7 and 17.
16 RCP 1933, 18.
17 Display at HMP North Sea Camp, Governor's journal. RCP 1935, 22, 35; 1937, 23.
18 *News of the World*, 15 Aug 1937.
19 Bain and Small 1992, 40.
20 RHMCIP 1991, 9–11.
21 Hinde 1951, 182–3.
22 PRO, PCOM 9/156, acquisition of land for employment of prisoners and establishment of New Hall Camp.
23 RCP 1935, 28.
24 Ibid 1939–41, 5.
25 Rock 1996, 90; PRO, PCOM 9/2268, various papers regarding acquisition and building of new prison and borstal accommodation 1938–65; Thomas 1972, 178.
26 1938 Criminal Justice Bill, 2 Geo. VI Bill 4; Teeters 1944, 23–5; Grünhut 1948, 106; RCP 1945, 64.
27 Hinde 1951,182–3.
28 3 & 4 Geo. V c.28; Harding *et al* 1985, 197; Forsythe 1991, 154.
29 Forsythe 1991, 158.
30 Norwood East and Hubert 1939.
31 Genders and Player 1995; Cullen and Wilson 1995, 20–3.
32 Teeters 1944, 21–3.
33 RCP 1939–41, 5, 6, 14.
34 Ibid 1942–4, 6.
35 Anon 1995, 11.
36 RCP 1945, 64, memorandum 64–74.
37 11 & 12 Geo. VI, c.58.
38 Hinde 1951, 183; Fox 1954, 127.
39 Hinde 1951, 190.
40 Thomas 1972, 183; Hall Williams 1970, 156–7.
41 The minimum age was reduced to 10 years old by the Criminal Justice Act 1961 (9 & 10 Eliz. II c.39, s.10).
42 Emery 1970, ix.
43 Fox 1954, 124–5; Hinde 1951, 151–2.
44 Emery 1970, ix; Hall Williams 1970, 155–6; Thomas 1972, 182–3.
45 Emery 1970, 39, 90.
46 RCP 1945, 85.
47 Ibid 1948, 66; 1950, 123.
48 Ibid 1948, 66; RHMCIP 1992, 9.
49 RCP 1945, 85.
50 Ibid 1948, 66; 1949,104.
51 This early camp was called Yapton Junction. Most of the historical background given here comes from discussions with Tim Rose and from an information board in the prison's education department.
52 According to the sign outside the South Entrance the fortress was built between 1860 and 1872, but according to RCHME 1970, it was constructed between 1852 and 1867 (247).
53 RCP 1952, 110; 1956, 136.
54 Longmate 1993, 334–44.
55 Listing Description, SP 06 NW, 10/156 from Department for Culture, Media and Sport's statutory lists of buildings of architectural or historic interest. *Country Life*, 6 Dec 1902, 732–41; 15 Aug 1903, 240–7; 7 Oct 1993, 50–3. Mabey 1981; Woodhouse 1995.
56 Colvin 1995, 890; NMR, Bedford Lemere, 11036–16, 11037–17.
57 Greenfield nd, 27, names him as C J Richards.
58 Pevsner 1995, 626. It is reputed to be modelled on an Indian railway station, an impression that would be enhanced if the lean-to roof along the front of the house had survived. It is now the staff club of the prison.

59 Craven and Stanley 1984, 35.
60 Ibid A12 (conveyance from Derby County Council to the Prisoner Commissioners, 20 Dec 1954). RCP 1954, 109; 1955, 126. RHMCIP 1992, 9.
61 RCP 1959, 117; RPD 1963, 63.
62 Ibid 1976, 71.
63 RCP 1954, 109.
64 Ibid 1958,110; 1960, 110. It closed in Oct 1987. RPS 1987–8, 75.
65 RCP 1961, 74.
66 Anon 1995, 12; RPS 1995–6, 69. Statutory Instrument 1996 no. 1551, The Closure of Prisons (H M Young Offender Institution Finnamore Wood), Order 1996. Made 23 May 1996, laid before Parliament 21 June 1996, came into force 1 Sep 1996.
67 RCP 1951, 94; 1952, 154.
68 Ibid 1955, 126; 1956, 136.
69 Stanhope-Brown nd, 2–5, contains a brief history of the site.
70 RPS 1989–90, 85.
71 RCP 1945, 74.
72 PRO, PCOM 9/2268, various papers regarding acquisition and building of new prison and borstal accommodation 1938–65.
73 RCP 1950, 86.
74 Ibid 1954, 109; 1955, 126; 1958, 109.
75 Anon 1958, 813–18.
76 White Paper 1959, 14.
77 Peterson 1961, 310.
78 Anon 1956, 52–7
79 RCP 1958, 109; 1959, 116; 1962, 66.
80 Ibid 1959, 117; 1962, 66. RPD 1974, 55.
81 RCP 1958, 110; 1960, 84.
82 Ibid 1959, 117; 1961, 74.
83 PRO, PCOM 9/2268 various papers regarding acquisition and building of new prison and borstal accommodation 1938–65, including photographs Y1758/1–3, and Y1783/1.
84 Prison Service HQ Lib, Jackson 1964, para 1. On 11 Jul 1963 HMP Blundeston was photographed by the PSA (NMRC PSA Collection, job GD 9353 1–33).
85 RCP 1958, 109; 1961, 73.
86 Hibbert 1963, 412–13.

Chapter 8

1 It became the Prison Service in 1986.
2 RPD 1963, vii.
3 Ibid, viii.
4 RCP 1959, 116; 1960, 109.
5 RPD 1964, 58.
6 Prisons and Borstals report 1963 states that the site was occupied in 1963 (63) while RPD 1964 states that it opened in 1964 (58). RPD 1962, 66; 1966, 1.
7 Ibid 1963, 64.
8 Ibid 1965, 51; 1970, 56.
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Statute	*Session date*	*Short title of Act*
25 Edw. III St 5 c.19	1351	Crown Debtors
19 Hen. VII c.10	1503	Gaols
22 Hen. VIII c.12	1530	Vagabonds
23 Hen. VIII c.2	1530–1	Gaols
27 Hen. VIII c.25	1536	Vagabonds
1 Edw. VI c.3	1547	Vagabonds
14 Eliz. I c.5	1572	Vagabonds
18 Eliz. I c.3	1575	Poor
39 Eliz. I c.4	1597	Vagabonds
7 Jac. I c.4	1609	Vagabonds
11 Will. III c.19	1698	Gaols
4 Geo. I c.11	1717	Piracy
6 Geo. I c.19	1719	Perpetuation of Acts
10 Geo. III c.28	1770	Chelmsford Gaol
14 Geo. III c.20	1774	Discharged Prisoners
14 Geo. III c.59	1774	Health of Prisoners
16 Geo. III c.43	1776	Criminal Law
18 Geo. III c.17	1778	Bodmin Gaol
19 Geo. III c.74	1779	Transportation
22 Geo. III c.64	1782	Houses of Correction
22 Geo. III c. 83	1782	Relief of the Poor
24 Geo. III sess 2 c.54	1784	Gaols
24 Geo. III sess 2 c.55	1784	Houses of Correction
24 Geo. III sess 2 c.56	1784	Transportation
25 Geo. III c.10	1785	Gloucester Gaol
26 Geo. III c.24	1786	Shrewsbury Gaol
4 Geo. IV c.64	1823	Gaols
5 Geo. IV c.85	1824	Gaols
5 & 6 Will. IV c.38	1835	Prisons
7 Will. IV & 1 Vict. c.90	1837	Solitary Confinement
1 & 2 Vict. c.82	1838	Parkhurst Prison
2 & 3 Vict. c.42	1839	Prisons (Scotland)
2 & 3 Vict. c.56	1839	Prisons
13 & 14 Vict. c.39	1850	Convict Prisons
16 & 17 Vict. c.99	1853	Penal Servitude
17 & 18 Vict. c.86	1854	Youthful Offenders, Great Britain
20 & 21 Vict. c.3	1857	Penal Servitude
20 & 21 Vict. c.48	1857	Industrial Schools
20 & 21 Vict. c.55	1857	Reformatory Schools
21 & 22 Vict. c.22	1858	Franchise Prisons Abolition
24 & 25 Vict. c.113	1861	Industrial Schools
27 & 28 Vict. c.47	1864	Penal Servitude
28 & 29 Vict. c.126	1865	Prison
29 & 30 Vict. c.116	1866	Reformatory Schools
29 & 30 Vict. c.118	1866	Industrial Schools
32 & 33 Vict. c.95	1869	Millbank Prison
38 & 39 Vict. c.55	1875	Public Health
40 & 41 Vict. c.21	1877	Prison
42 & 43 Vict. c.33	1879	Army Discipline and Regulation
61 & 62 Vict. c.41	1898	Prison
61 & 62 Vict. c.60	1898	Inebriates
8 Edw. VII c.59	1908	Prevention of Crime
8 Edw. VII c.67	1908	Children
3 & 4 Geo. V c.28	1913	Mental Deficiency
4 & 5 Geo. V c.58	1914	Criminal Justice Administration
11 & 12 Geo. VI c.58	1948	Criminal Justice
15 & 16 Geo. VI & 1 Eliz. II c.52	1952	Prison
9 & 10 Eliz. II c.39	1961	Criminal Justice
1967 c.80	1967	Criminal Justice
1980 c.57	1980	Imprisonment (Temporary Provisions)
1982 c.48	1982	Criminal Justice
1988 c.33	1988	Criminal Justice
1991 c.53	1991	Criminal Justice
1994 c.33	1994	Criminal Justice and Public Order

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RDCP Reports of the Directors of Convict Prisons 1852–1894/5
RCP Reports of the Work of the Prison Commission 1878–1962 (year ending date used in reference except for RCPs published during World War II)
RPD Report of the Work of the Prison Department 1963–85/6
RPS Report of the Work of the Prison Service 1986/7–present
RHMCIP Annual Report of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Prisons 1981–present
H of L 1835 Reports from the Select Committee of the House of Lords Appointed to Inquire into the Present State of the Several Gaols and Houses of Correction in England and Wales

1	*PP* 1835 (438) xi
2	*PP* 1835 (439) xi
3	*PP* 1835 (440) xii
4&5	*PP* 1835 (441) xii

R&S Copies of All Reports and of Schedules Transmitted to the Secretary of State pursuant to the 24th Section of the 4th Geo. IV c.64 and 14th Section of 5th Geo. IV c.12

1836 *PP* 1836 (31) XLII
1837 *PP* 1837 (108) XLV
1837–8 *PP* 1837–8 (169) XLIII
1839 *PP* 1839 (36) XXXVIII
1840 *PP* 1840 (170) XXXVIII
1841 *PP* 1841 sess 1 (75) XVIII
1842 *PP* 1842 (63) XXXII
1843 *PP* 1843 (48) XLIII
1844 *PP* 1844 (75) XXXIX

RIP Reports of the Inspectors of Prisons

1(H) 1st Report of the Home District, *PP* 1836 (117–I) XXXV
2(H) 2nd Report of the Home District, *PP* 1837 (89) XXXII
3(H) *3rd Report of the Home District, PP 1837–8 (141)* XXX
3(N&E) 3rd Report of the Northern and Eastern District, *PP* 1837–8 (134) XXXI
3(S&W) 3rd Report of the Southern and Western District, *PP* 1837–8 (135) XXXI
4(H) 4th Report of the Home District, *PP* 1839 (210) XXI
4(N&E) 4th Report of the Northern and Eastern District, *PP* 1837–8 (199) XXXI
4(S&W) 4th Report of the Southern and Western District, *PP* 1839 (200) XXII
5(H) 5th Report of the Home District, *PP* 1840 (283) XXV
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10(S&W) 10th Report of the Southern and Western District, *PP* 1845 (676) XXIV
11(S&W) 11th Report of the Southern and Western District, *PP* 1846 (755) XXI
13(N) 13th Report of the Northern District, *PP* 1847–8 (997) XXXVI
13(M&E) 13th Report of the Midland and Eastern District, *PP* 1847–8 (909) XXXVI
14(M&E) 14th Report of the Midland and Eastern District, *PP* 1849 (1033) XXVI
14(S&W) 14th Report of the Southern and Western District, *PP* 1849 (1112) XXVI
15(H) 15th Report of the Home District, *PP* 1851 (1384) XXVII
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17(H) *17th Report of the Home District, PP 1856 (2056)* XXXII
18(H) 18th Report of the Home District, *PP* 1856 (2057) XXXII
19(N&E) 19th Report of the Northern and Eastern District, *PP* 1856 (2102) XXXIII
19(S&W) 19th Report of the Southern and Western District, *PP* 1854 (1853) XXXIV
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24(S) 24th Report of the Southern District, *PP* 1859 sess 1 (2501) XI
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28(N) 28th Report of the Northern District, *PP* 1863 (3234) XXIII
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30(N) 30th Report of the Northern District, *PP* 1865 (3520) XXIII
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40(N) 40th Report of the Northern District, *PP* 1876 (C.1500) XXXV
41(S) 41st Report of the Southern District, *PP* 1877 (C.1756) XLIII
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42(N) 42nd Report of the Northern District, *PP* 1878 (C.2038) XLI
42(S) 42nd Report of the Southern District, *PP* 1878 (C.2038) XLI

RSGP Reports of the Surveyor-General of Prisons

2 *PP* 1847 (867) XXIX

RDMMP Reports on the Discipline and Management of Military Prisons

1848 *PP* 1849 (1110) XXVI
1849 *PP* 1850 (1411) XXIX
1869 *PP* 1871 (C.280) XXXI
1870 *PP* 1871 (C.450) XXXI
1877 *PP* 1878 (C.2171) XLII
1880 *PP* 1881 (C.3044) LI
1895 *PP* 1896 (C.8118) XLIV

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1850 *PP* 1851 (1419) XXVIII
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20 *PP* 1877 (c.1796) XLII
38 *PP* 1895 (C.7820) LVII

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PP 1840 (244) XXXVIII Reports Relating to Parkhurst Prison
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PP 1843 (159) XLII, Part 2 of Copies or Extracts of any Correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Governor of Van Diemen's Land, on the subject of Convict Discipline
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Drawing of male wing, A B McHardy, 15 Sep 1881
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Drawing of administration and chapel, 5 Oct 1885

HMP Brixton Works Dept

Specification of Works, Estimates & Bills for the Extension of Brixton Prison for the Commissioners of Prisons, by Raven & Crickmay, Sept & Oct 1899, Jan 1900.

HMP Dartmoor, Works Department

Drawings of E wing (cell section, 11 Feb 1897; heating system, 20 May 1897 and 5 Sep 1899, gaslights, 9 Nov 1900)
Plans of A wing, 24 Oct 1905
Drawing of C wing, 26 Jun 1912

HMP Exeter, Works Department

Dyelines of two drawings by John Hayward (No. XI elevations of east wing and No. XIV sections through wings and centre)

HMP Kingston, Board Room

Borough of Portsmouth, New Gaol, Ground Plan by G Rake

HMP Lewes, Board Room

Photograph, F wing, *c* 1860

HMP Parkhurst, Works Department

Elevations of A hall, dated 16 Dec 1879

HMYOI Portland, Works Department

Section of A and C wings, 2 Apr 1903
Plan of B wing, 4 May 1896

HMP Stafford

Block Plan of the Gaol and Property Adjoining belonging to the County of Stafford, between 1846 and 1850

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HMP Lewes, A wing, East Sussex.
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Frontispiece
HMP Manchester, Greater Manchester. This grand interior was restored following severe damage during riots in 1990.
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